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GOLDWIN SMITH AND THE JEWS.

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MR. GOLDWIN SMITH is an amiable, an attractive, and, as I had always till now supposed, an accurate writer. Although he is an Englishman by birth, he does not seem to share the insular prejudices of so many of his countrymen in favor of those aristocratic institutions of which England is the most highly developed modern type.

Great, therefore, is my surprise to find Mr. Goldwin Smith arraying himself, in the cosmopolitan pages of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, with the persecutors of the Jewish race, and lending the authority of his name to the propagation of what I must ask his permission to describe as impressions at once unfair and unfounded in regard to the relations of the people of Israel with the nations of central and of eastern Europe. To do this at any time would be to serve instincts and traditions with which it should be impossible for any true liberal of the nineteenth century to sympathize. To do this at a time when every steamer which arrives from the continent of Europe brings its contingent of Jewish men, women, and children, seeking in the new world a refuge from the injustice of the old, is surely to gladden the heart of the oppressor and to darken the faces of the oppressed.

It was a beautiful thought of the great French sculptor, Bartholdi, himself a scion of the chosen people, to embody the homage

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of European freedom to American institutions in a colossal image of Liberty enlightening the world; and it was a thought not less beautiful which moved another son of Israel, himself an American citizen, to provide the means whereby this noble image has been set in the very gateway of America, there to welcome and to cheer the exiles of all lands. Certainly it is not from this radiant Pharos of hope and of progress that Mr. Goldwin Smith has derived the "new light" which he professes to shed upon the Jewish question.

I shall have no trouble, I think, to show Mr. Goldwin Smith himself, if he be, as I willingly believe him to be, a disinterested seeker after truth, that this "new light," like many other "new lights," is by no means a light from heaven, and that it has led him far astray. More than this, I shall be able to show him that it is not in any sense a "new light" at all. It is, on the contrary, an old obscuration of a very old question.

"The general belief," Mr. Goldwin Smith begins by telling us "has been that the anti-Semitic movement is religious, and that the Jews are being persecuted, as they were or are assumed to have been in the dark ages, on account of their faith." "Such was the tenor," he goes on to say, "of all the manifestoes, speeches, and editorials in which British indignation against Russia found vent after the anti-Semitic disturbances of 1880. Everybody said that the dark ages had come again, and that the murderous atrocities of mediæval fanaticism were being reënacted in the nineteenth century." Whereupon Mr. Goldwin Smith proceeds to enlighten the general mind by assuring us, in the first place, that "persecution is not the tendency of the Russian or of the church to which he belongs," and, in the next place, that the Jews are hated and assailed, not only in Russia, but in Austria, in Germany, in the Balkan states, and "even in the Ionian Islands," not because they cling to the religion in which the founder of Christianity was born and trained, but because they refuse everywhere to live the life of the country in which they dwell, or to support themselves and their families by productive industries. It is to "economical and social," not to religious, causes that he would have Americans attribute the expulsion, by popular violence or administrative tyranny, of thousands of Jewish families from their homes, the practical confiscation in many cases of all their property, and the complete uprooting in all cases of large com-

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munities from the lands in which these communities have dwelt for long years, necessarily contributing to the resources and necessarily bearing their share of the burdens of the commonwealth.

These are very serious things to say. This is a very grave indictment to frame against a whole race; for no exceptions are made. Our accuser does not content himself with an attempt to exculpate the Russian authorities. He formulates his general accusation in a manner which must compel impartial and logical persons who accept his views to the conclusion that the Russian authorities deserve not blame, but praise, for their determined effort to expel the race of Israel from the dominions of the Czar. To believe this is to believe—is it not?—that all other governments ought to imitate the government of Russia. If the influence exerted by the Jews upon the economical and social life of Russia has been such as to warrant their removal *en masse* from the empire, is it tolerable that so pestiferous a population should be planted in other countries?

"The explanation of the whole trouble, and of all the calamities and horrors attending it," we are told by Mr. Goldwin Smith, after he has cited a number of British consular reports imputing usurious and mischievous practices to the Jews in certain Russian towns, "is that the Jews are, to adopt the phrase borrowed by Vice-Consul Wagstaff from natural history, a parasitic race. Detached from their own country, they insert themselves for the purpose of gain into the homes of other nations, while they retain a marked and repellent nationality of their own."

This is the core of the whole matter, according to our accuser. The Jews are "a parasitic race." So convinced is Mr. Goldwin Smith of this that he goes into an elaborate argument, with which I will not just now deal further than to refer my readers to his own statement of it, in order to show that "parasitism" is inherent in the very nature of the Jew. I must do our accuser the justice to say that he grows vague and misty when confronted, by his own conscience, with the necessity of giving some plausible account of the origin of this very peculiar "parasitism" of a race which produced not only the prophets and the psalmists of Israel, but the Christian apostle upon whom we are told the world-embracing church of Christianity was founded as "upon a rock." "Its principal cause probably," he tells us, "was the narrowness of the Jewish territory combined with the love of gain in the

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Jew." I will not stop to point out that the great Napoleon founded upon precisely similar premises his celebrated indictment of the race of which Mr. Goldwin Smith is so distinguished an ornament, as "a nation of shopkeepers." But when Mr. Goldwin Smith goes on to strike at the Jew over the back of his "near kinsman, the Phœnician"; to draw support for his imputation of "parasitism" against the Jew from a contrast between the "mercantile" colonization of the Phœnician and the "nobler colonization of the Greek"; and to aver that the parasitism of the Jews drew upon them the shafts of "the Roman satirist" long centuries ago, I cannot refrain from inviting my readers to remember that it was not a Jew at all, but a "needy Greek"—*Græculus esuriens*—of whom the "Roman satirist" alleged that his greed would make him even undertake to fly. It was not as a parasitic shopkeeper bent on usurious profits, but as a mystic believer in the ineffable truths of a lofty spiritual faith, "commercing with the skies" for God and not for gain, that the Jew—"*credat Judæus Apella*"—invited the polished contempt of the worldly-minded and epicurean "Roman satirist." Ought a Christian scholar of the nineteenth century to forget the homage paid by Augustus Cæsar to the spiritual faith and civic virtue of his Jewish subjects? Or is Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his zeal for the "derabbinization" of the Jews, really ready to turn into derision the heroic martyrdom of Israel under Caligula?

"The Jew is now detested," we are calmly told, "not only because he absorbs the national wealth, but because, when present in numbers, he eats out the core of nationality." If this were true, Baron Hirsch, of whose "philanthropic zeal" Mr. Goldwin Smith, in his ardent desire to see eastern Europe rid of a "parasitic race," speaks in loud words of commendation, would deserve, not commendation at all, but the sternest reprehension. How can a man be called a "philanthropist" who seeks to introduce into Australia, into America, into the Argentine Republic, and that "in numbers," a parasitic race destined and doomed by nature not only to absorb the national wealth, but to eat out the core of nationality from among whatever people may be cursed by its presence?

But this is not true.

It is precisely the contrary of this which is true. Frederick the Great was no lover of the Jews as Jews any more than of

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Englishmen as Englishmen. His "general privilege" issued to the Jews of Prussia in 1750 reeks with intolerance and political bigotry. With his own hand this royal admirer of Voltaire struck out the name of Mendelssohn, which all Germany, and, indeed, all Christendom, unites to honor to-day, from the list of his great Berlin Academy. But Frederick the Great was a mighty ruler of men, and broadened the foundations upon which his descendants have built up the foremost European power of our times. And it was Frederick the Great who laid it down as an axiom that "to oppress the Jews has never brought prosperity to any government." Was this because the prince of royal sceptics believed the oppression of the Jew would be avenged by the God of Israel? Certainly not! It was because the shrewdest and most indefatigable of royal observers had learned that in every state in which they find themselves compelled to establish their homes the children of Israel, adhering to the precepts of their great lawgiver and enlightened by the wisdom (Talmudic or Karaitic) of their forefathers, have always been found to be a source of strength, not of weakness. He found them everywhere not absorbing, but increasing, the "national wealth"; not "eating out the core," but building up the body, of every nationality to which they have contributed their vital force.

Had the Jews "eaten out the core" of the nationality of Spain when, twenty years after the conquest of England by William the Norman, they drove the Moors forth from "the city of generations," the Jerusalem of the West, and established the throne of Alonzo *el Emperador*? Where had been the deathless glory of the Cid, Rodrigo de Bivar, the Campeador of Spain and the bulwark of Europe, but for the Jews of Toledo? What Spaniards did Spain better service in that marvellous twelfth century than the Spanish Jews who laid the pavements of La Blanca in soil brought from Mount Zion, and who framed of cedarwood from Lebanon that lofty and noble ceiling which still delights the artist and the architect, though ages have passed since the brave and loyal heirs of the builders were hounded to destruction by the savage Vincente Ferrer, in order that the mob might pillage their homes—even as Pedro the Cruel before them had plundered the treasury of his wisest councillor and tortured to death the faithful servant he had robbed? Does not Mr. Goldwin Smith know that to this day, in Servia, in Macedonia, in

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Rumania, in Bulgaria, the descendants of the exiled Jews of Spain, driven forth from the land they had done so much to redeem and to enrich, still proudly call themselves Spaniards; still preserve the speech of Spain; still cherish in their eastern homes the memories of a heroic past in western Europe? Does he not know that the Hebrew newspaper which represents the ideas and the interests of the Hebrew race at Salonica bears the Spanish name of the *Epoca*?

Nay, let me ask Mr. Goldwin Smith to look into the annals of the Hebrew race in his own country and in his own time. He will find that the Jews of England, down to the very eve of the Reform Bill, clung to the use in their religious services of the language of Spain. It was only in 1829, and after a most earnest and critical debate, that the loyalty of the Hebrew exiles to the language of Samuel Levi and of Benjamin of Tudela could be shaken by the persistent efforts of men like Moses Montefiore and N. M. de Rothschild, who were anxious to see English patriotism encouraged among the Hebrew residents of England by a complete identification of the Jew, in all his social and political rights, with the Protestant and the Roman Catholic subjects of the British Crown. The English Jews consented to adopt the English tongue in their synagogues long before other Englishmen could be brought to grant to the English Jews the full rights of citizenship. Does not Mr. Goldwin Smith know that the wonderful career of the most illustrious Englishman of our times would have been impossible to him had not his father abjured the religion of his ancestors? Benjamin Disraeli was able to enter Parliament in the springtime of his life because he was able to take the oath of allegiance "on the faith of a Christian." How long did the Liberals of the city of London beat in vain at the door of the House of Commons, demanding to be represented there by a great financier and a high-minded English citizen who could not and would not take that oath?

Mr. Goldwin Smith rebukes the Jews of eastern Europe for adhering to that rite of the circumcision which, as he must assuredly know, is not confined to Jews alone, has prevailed, and prevails, throughout the world from Arabia to Australasia, and from South Africa to Central America, and cannot with any sort of accuracy be called a "tribal" custom. Doubtless Spinoza, who stands alone among philosophers, as does Newton among men of science, or

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Pascal among thinkers—doubtless Spinoza was right when he said that the rite of circumcision would maintain the integrity of the Jewish household of faith. The highest medical authorities of our day maintain that it has also kept up the vigor and vitality of the race. I suppose the Protestant Baptists are right in maintaining the rite of immersion as essential to the maintenance of their sect, and the Quakers in maintaining the custom of wearing the hat; but is an American Baptist less trustworthy as an American because he insists upon immersion? Were William Penn and George Fox less trustworthy Englishmen because they wore the hat where others doffed it? Will Mr. Goldwin Smith aver that Sir Moses Montefiore and N. M. de Rothschild were less loyal and patriotic Englishmen, being circumcised children of Israel, than Benjamin Disraeli, who, adopting under his father's roof the religion of the English Church, rose to the highest place among the statesmen of England and of the world as Earl of Beaconsfield?

The most famous and the most popular English writer of fiction of this century, Charles Dickens, was certainly not the less truly an Englishman in his local and national sympathies because he came of a Hebrew family. Would his place in fiction have been other or lower than it is had he adhered to the faith of his ancestors and undergone all the rites of their religion? Is the renown of George Eliot tarnished by her loyalty to the genius of Israel?

Mr. Goldwin Smith must permit me to ask him whether he does justice to his own reputation for candor and for learning when he charges it upon the Jew as a Jew that "he changes his country more easily than others." Are we not at this moment dealing with a "Jewish question" the urgency of which is due to the simple fact that the Jews of Russia and of other countries in eastern Europe cling to the countries in which they have dwelt, and are driven forth from them, not by their own "greed of gain," as Mr. Smith rashly puts it, but by the prejudices of an ignorant peasantry and the policy of autocratic governments? As I have already shown, it is the characteristic of the Jewish race to cling to the soil of the land in which it has been planted. For this reason, in all times and countries the policy of all who hated the Jew has been to forbid him to own or to till the soil. When Portuguese bigotry drove the Jews from the banks of the

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Tagus to those of the Garonne, the Jews transplanted to France still called themselves the "Portuguese nation." Under that name they demanded the rights of citizenship from the First Republic in 1791—rights which, by the way, the First Republic would have refused them but for the eloquence and energy of Mirabeau and of Rabaut de St. Etienne.

"When the Southern Confederacy fell," Mr. Goldwin Smith tells us, "its leaders generally stood by the wreck and did their best for those whom they had led, but Judah Benjamin went off to pastures new." Is this sneer an argument to prove the Jewish race incapable of patriotism? Is it worthy of the pen which has indited it? Is it even decently fair to the distinguished lawyer, statesman, and orator at whose grave it is levelled? Surely Mr. Goldwin Smith must know that Judah Benjamin was the companion of Jefferson Davis in that southward hegira from Richmond the true object of which was to raise again, beyond the Mississippi, the fallen banner of the Confederacy. Surely he must know the story of that hegira. Surely he must know how it came to pass that the little band was broken up and scattered. Had not Louisiana, the American home of Judah Benjamin, been made a wilderness for him and for his family long before the fall of the Confederacy? Does not Mr. Goldwin Smith know that Judah Benjamin, born a British subject in Jamaica, and driven from his adopted land at an age when most men would have thought the making of a new career beyond their force, courageously took up the profession of the law in the very metropolis of his mother-country, and there won for himself, by energetic toil, the foremost position at the English bar? "Pastures new!" Nay! Judah Benjamin sought no pastures fat and easy of access! Driven from the home he had made in the new world, he delved in the most difficult of mines, and died overworn with work, though not till his work had been rewarded by a success which reflects honor not on himself alone, but on the Jewish name and race.

I must ask Mr. Goldwin Smith to remember that when Judah Benjamin was born a British subject in Jamaica the English bar was closed to Englishmen of Jewish race. I must ask him to remember that it was only in 1833 that a young Jewish student and gentleman was permitted by English prejudice and proscription to take his place at the English bar; and I must appeal to his candor to admit that the names of Sir Francis Goldsmid, of Sir

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George Jessel, of Lord Herschel, and of Judah Benjamin can never be omitted by any historian of the English bar from the roll of honor of English jurisprudence. And before I pass from this point I must, furthermore, protest against the airy assumption that Judah Benjamin alone represented the Jews of America in the dark days of the Civil War. On both sides in that cruel conflict the American Israelites stood shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-citizens of all other races and creeds. The Mordecais, the Cohens, the Levys, the Florences of the South did their duty, as they understood it, to the sovereignties which claimed their immediate allegiance. Had the advice of Mr. Memminger, of South Carolina, an Israelite by race, though not by religion, and a colleague in the Confederate Treasury of Judah Benjamin, been taken at the outset of the conflict, I have been assured the issue of the struggle might have been other than what it actually was; nor have I ever heard that, when the war was ended (happily, as I think) in the victory of the Union, any Southern Israelite who was suffered to remain in his own State failed to "do his best" for his country. On the other side, what soldiers of the Union earned more honor by their loyalty and their valor than Lyon and Rosecrans? What Northern financier was more energetic in support of the national credit than the Belmonts and the Seligmans?

The numbers of the American Jews have always been exaggerated. There is no good ground for believing that they exceeded 100,000 at the outbreak of the Civil War, or less than one-third of 1 per cent. of the total population of the United States in 1860. The rolls of the War Departments of Washington and of Richmond will show what proportion the Jewish soldiers on either side bore to this scanty percentage.

I must leave Mr. Goldwin Smith to reconcile his denunciation of the Jew as a "parasitic" creature who "eats out the core of nationality" with his admission, in another place, that the Jew "always and everywhere" has been "a conforming citizen" who has "refused none of the burdens of the state." To me the statements appear to be absolutely inconsistent one with the other; nor does it much help them that Mr. Goldwin Smith thinks it fair to qualify the admission by adding that the Jew has always made "the burdens of the state" "as light as he could." This may be said with equal truth, I venture to

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think, of all men. I have yet to hear of any race or sect of men addicted to demanding habitually the privilege of paying more taxes than their fellow-citizens. But how long is it since the odious "Leibzoll," or body-tax, was exacted throughout Germany of every Jew, not once in a year, nor once in a month, but whenever he came into or went out of a city gate, though it might be ten or twenty times a day?

The first real equality of civil rights given to the Jews in Germany came to them with the establishment by Napoleon of the kingdom of Westphalia. At that time the Jews constituted less than one-half of 1 per cent. of the population of Germany,—they constituted no more than 1 per cent. of the population of the empire in 1875,—and such had been the social and political restrictions imposed on them in Germany for ages that no one could have been surprised had they everywhere cast in their lot with the French liberator of their race against their oppressive and intolerant Teutonic fellow-citizens. What actually came to pass when Germany rose against Napoleon after the repulse of the expedition against Russia? The Jews of Germany remembered only that they were Germans. As Germans, they took the field and gave their blood freely for the German Fatherland. But what was their reward? After the crowning victory of the allies in 1815 every German Jew who had won a commission in the armies by his valor and his skill was suddenly deprived of it, and faced the alternative of serving in the ranks or leaving the army altogether! It was in this way that the German rulers of the Holy Alliance set about promoting that amalgamation of the Jews with the rest of their subjects which Mr. Goldwin Smith seems to imagine that nothing has ever prevented but the stiff-necked "tribal" exclusiveness of the children of Israel!

And this took place, observe, years after the Jews, assembled in the great Sanhedrim of Strasburg, had commanded the Jews of France to acquire landed property as a means of training them "to be better Frenchmen," and had ordained that Jews serving in the national armies should be absolved during their term of service from the "ceremonial duties" of their religion!

Is it the opinion of Mr. Goldwin Smith that the object of the Jews who, of their own motion, deliberately established such a decree as this was to "eat out the core of nationality"? If Mr. Goldwin Smith will look into the history and the enact-

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ments of the great council of 1807, he will find therein more and more achromatic "light upon the Jewish question" than he has been receiving from the official reports of British vice-consuls charged to report upon the repetition in various regions of eastern Europe of phenomena as old and as familiar as the instincts of prejudice, jealousy, and greed which have produced them.

Of these consular reports Mr. Goldwin Smith makes use, with little or no attempt to examine them critically. He makes long citations, for example, from the reports of Mr. Wagstaff, without telling us that Mr. Wagstaff is established as British vice-consul at Riga, far away from the great centres of the Jewish populations in Russia, and in the midst of a population predominantly German and commercial. In 1840 the Jews were forbidden to dwell in any Livonian city except Riga, and in Riga only 100 Jewish families were permitted to dwell. Mr. Wagstaff is now quoted to prove that a system of "boycotting" exists among the Jews of Bessarabia! This is as if the report of a British vice-consul at Portland, Maine, should be cited in Rome to illustrate the origin of the alleged "massacre" of Italians in New Orleans. Mr. Wagstaff says of the Bessarabian Jews: "They use their religion for business purposes. This is expressed by the words 'koul' or 'kagal.'" This doubtless means the "Kahel" under which the Israelites have stood together in matters affecting their interests from time immemorial. To confound it with the essentially aggressive and tyrannical practice of "boycotting" is to show equal ignorance of the one and of the other. If Mr. Goldwin Smith will consult the decrees of the Sanhedrim of 1807, he will find that in matters of interest and profit the Jews are commanded to treat all their fellow-men as they treat one another. They are forbidden to take usury of any man. They are forbidden to take advantage of any man. They are forbidden even to take interest on loans made for the support of a family. On these and kindred points I am sure every well-informed Jew will agree with me in asking Mr. Goldwin Smith to make the fullest and freest inquiry into what he contemptuously calls the "tribal morality" of the Talmud.

If he will make the inquiry, I venture to say he will no longer talk about the "Karaitic" as purer and loftier than the "Talmudic" morality. Indeed, he seems to imagine, as did the Protestant controversialists of the sixteenth century, that the word "Karaite" stands for Protestant and the word "Talmudic" for

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Roman Catholic; and it may perhaps surprise him to learn that of the three millions of Jews in the Russian Empire, not more certainly than one-third of 1 per cent. belong to the Karaitic communities, which exist chiefly in the Crimea Perhaps his friend, Dr. Sandwith, who seems to have studied the Jewish question chiefly in the Crimea and within the walls of Kars, may have misled him into this curious overestimate, both of the moral elevation and of the importance of the Karaitic sectarians. I do not dwell on this, for I have no quarrel with Mr. Goldwin Smith. My only object is to protest against dangerous and bewildering misrepresentations of the "Jewish question," which may do serious mischief at a time when thousands of Jews, expelled from their homes in eastern Europe, are seeking a land of peace and of liberty on this side of the Atlantic. Curiously, the decrees banishing all the Jews of Spain were issued in the very year, 1492, which saw the discovery of America made under the Spanish flag. I do not think the fourth centennial of the expedition of Columbus ought to be celebrated by an organized attempt to exclude the Jews from the new world which he found.

Oddly enough, the cable now announces the outbreak at Elizabethgrad of a local persecution precisely like that which occurred at the same place in 1881. Now, as then, the authorities allow, if they do not inspire, the outbreak, which spares neither Karaite nor Talmudic Jews who have any property worth looting!

The "Jewish question," like other "questions," has many sides. Vice-Consul Wagstaff, studying it at Riga, where the Jews are neither numerous nor very influential, takes it upon hearsay that in regions of Russia where the Jews are both numerous and, through their activity, influential, they exercise a commercial tyranny over the peasantry, earn thereby the hatred of the peasantry, and are thereupon persecuted by the authorities. Doubtless in many parts of agricultural Russia, where the Jews, not being allowed to own land, have been driven out of agriculture into trades and dealing in money, they have behaved no better than other people in similar circumstances have elsewhere behaved. The complaints made of the Jews in Poland, for example, where the vast majority of them live in villages and towns, are almost identical with the complaints made of the "gombeen men" who in Ireland monopolize trade in the rural districts

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and control the small farmers by lending or advancing money to them. I have heard complaints of a similar kind made against the "capitalists" of the eastern United States, in the far West.

In Hungary and the Danubian states similar complaints led, a quarter of a century ago, to a "Juden-hitze," or system of "Jew-baiting," as bitter as any now raging. The object of the system then was to drive the Jews into Russia, that other money-lenders and traders might take their places. Long before this, under Nicholas I., the Russian Government set afoot a persecution of the Jews in western Russia and Poland for the purpose of compelling the Jews along the frontier to remove either into Germany or into the interior of the Russian Empire. The famous "deportation ukase" of April, 1844, excited feelings of sympathy and indignation throughout western Europe. Under it hundreds of thousands of Jews were commanded to sell all they had within a very brief period, and leave their homes forever. The ukase led to an earnest remonstrance from the Jews of England, and to the celebrated visit which Sir Moses Montefiore made in the winter of that year to Russia, where he pleaded the cause of Israel personally before the Czar Nicholas, as some years before he had pleaded the cause of the Jews of Damascus and Syria before the Sultan. The main pretext of the persecutions of 1844 and 1881 was that the Jews along the frontier engaged extensively in smuggling, just as the main pretext of the persecution of 1891 is that the Jews in the rural regions engage extensively in trades not always of an elevated kind, and in money-lending not always on the most liberal principles.

In 1844 and 1881, as in 1891, the real motive at the bottom of the persecution is a political motive. It is the desire of the Pan-Slavist leaders and agitators to expel all non-Slavonic elements out of Russia. The Jews are ready and willing to be Russians. They are not, however, Slavs, nor can they be amalgamated into Slavs. In 1844 Nicholas had Jewish soldiers in his guards, and admitted to Sir Moses Montefiore that they were loyal, brave, and excellent soldiers. In 1891 the removal of the Jews is a blow aimed indirectly, but distinctly, at the Germans. Many of the Jews in western Russia are of German origin. Through the "Kahel" all of them may maintain intimate business relations with the Jews of Germany, and by their existence and prosperity as Jews in Russia the German element in Russia, which the Pan-

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Slavists are bent on stamping out, is more or less continually reënforced. In 1844 the Czar Nicholas candidly admitted to Sir Moses Montefiore that the accusations levelled at the Russian Jews would not, for the most part, hold water, but he expressed his wish frankly to get them all out of the empire.

In 1891 Germany, which in 1844 was the vassal, has become the rival, of Russia. The policy of Prince Bismarck was to encourage the court chaplain, Stocker, and other German fanatics into a "Jew-baiting" in Germany, which should drive more Jews out of Germany into Russia, and thereby strengthen the subterranean connections between the Russian Empire and central Europe. Since the retirement of Prince Bismarck the Russian Pan-Slavists, who are preparing to Russianize eastern and central Europe in due time, have set on foot a "Jew-baiting" among the Slavonic nations and tribes. They are willing, as were the Russian authorities in 1844, that the Jews should prosper—but not in Russia! In 1844 Count Kisseleff civilly, but cynically, assured Sir Moses Montefiore that he cared not what became of the then existing generation of Jews. "In a century," he said, "the Jews may be educated and good Russians. But I do not care about the Jews now. I only care about the Jews of a century hence!"

Can the Jews of to-day be blamed for caring for themselves? When, in 1561, Cardinal Comendoni went as nuncio from the Pope to King Sigismond, of Poland, he found the Jews of Wilna enjoying equal rights with other Poles. He found them landed proprietors, wearing swords, holding public offices, and he loudly praises—he a Catholic and a cardinal coming from the city of the Ghetto—the system under which the Polish children of Israel were thus enabled to show themselves what their ancestors were in the Holy Land at the time of the Roman Conquest,—tillers of the soil as well as traders, valiant in arms, skilful in the arts, and equal to all the duties of civilization. Even to this day the traces of that better age are visible in the superiority of the Jews of Wilna to their brethren in adjoining circles of the Russian Empire.

When we see what great work the Jews of Europe have done despite the depressing influence of ages of restriction, injustice, and oppression, what may not be hoped from the Jews of America! That the Jew is by nature as well fitted for the du-

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ties of a husbandman, or of a sailor, or of a soldier, or of an artisan, as for those of a trader or a money-changer, any Christian may satisfy himself by simply taking a concordance of the Scriptures, old and new, Jewish and Christian, and referring to the occupations therein cited. He will find that the occupations of the Jews when they possessed Palestine were at least as various as the occupations of the English under Elizabeth can be shown to have been by a concordance of Shakespeare. What was the command of the Lord of Hosts to the Jews who were deported from Jerusalem into Babylonia? "Build to yourselves houses, and dwell therein; till your gardens, and eat of the fruit thereof." Have not the Jews of our own day faithfully obeyed this command ever since they found a refuge in New Jersey from those persecutions, "not religious," of 1880 and 1881, in the course of which Professor Röhling, of Prague, was not ashamed to charge Sir Moses Montefiore, then in his ninety-ninth year, with encouraging "the sacrifice of Gentile maidens at the Passover"? Has Mr. Goldwin Smith forgotten that this same atrocious calumny was levelled at the Jews of Damascus by a "consular officer"—not English, indeed, but French—no longer ago than in 1847?

That the Jew is by nature gifted above many other races of men it does not become me to assert. But such is the concurrent testimony of the ages of Christendom, the very existence of Christianity being itself a witness to the assertion. Granting the Jew to be only the equal, intellectually and morally, of other men, what right or reason has any man to affirm of him that by a law of his nature his presence as a citizen, enjoying equal rights with other citizens, in a land of liberty and of plenty, must prove a blight, and not a blessing, to that land and to all its inhabitants, of whatever lineage and of whatever faith?

ISAAC BESHT BENDAVID.

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A PLEA FOR RAILWAY CONSOLIDATION.

BY COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

THE question has often been asked of railroad men, What is the remedy for rate wars and the demoralization that results from the rate-cutting incident to their business as at present conducted? I know of but one answer to this question, and that is consolidation or joint ownership; and as the solution of a purely business problem I began advocating this many years ago. The process of consolidation itself (which is simply the endeavor to secure the largest possible amount of tonnage and transport it with the least expenditure of money) is a logical outgrowth of circumstances, and, although the projectors of the earlier lines did not perhaps foresee the advantage, and even the necessity, of it, yet it was not long before the natural tendency of railroad corporations towards unification of interests began to manifest itself.

There are men now living in the full activities of life who have travelled from Albany to Buffalo over the Albany and Schenectady, Schenectady and Utica, Utica and Syracuse, Syracuse and Auburn, Auburn and Rochester, and Rochester and Buffalo railroads, all of which were connected in a continuous line of track. But it was very soon discovered by the proprietors of these fragments of roads, so to speak, that they gave little return to their owners, while the result to the people who used them was unsatisfactory, as it was difficult to get through rates of freight and, when obtained, to locate the responsibility for damage to property, or for detention in transit from the point of shipment to destination.

The disadvantages arising from this lack of unity have induced a continuous effort from that date to the present time, on the part of the builders of railroads, to devise ways by which the people could be better served and the owners more satisfactorily compen-

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sated for their risks and outlays of capital, until the ablest men have come to the conclusion that the most effective, and probably the only practical, remedy for the many evils and demoralizations that now exist is joint ownership, as it would appear that only in that way can the minimum of cost of transportation, and, therefore, the maximum benefit to the public and to the roads, be secured; and this, too, to use the words of Lincoln, "not rending or wrecking anything," but, instead of this, creating harmony out of discord, order out of confusion, and largely increasing the value of the property of the stockholders of each road, each of whom thus becomes a stockholder in the whole property.

Thus came into existence the present New York Central and Hudson River Railroad, from which the general public has reaped enormous advantages, while the owners have been rewarded by an exchange of shares of little or no worth for stock in the new organization, of vastly increased value. This great corporation may be said to represent the genius of that giant of railway finance, Cornelius Vanderbilt, whose keen foresight, indomitable will, and tireless energy combined to produce this example of railway enterprise.

The same may be said of that vast network of roads controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which has been slowly but steadily built up by purchase and consolidation, by the interweaving, as it were, of many short roads of little or no value into the completed fabric known as the Pennsylvania system. To the organizing force and intellect of Edgar Thompson and, after him, of Colonel Thomas A. Scott, is due this unparalleled achievement in the history of railway-building. That the owners and managers of these and other large corporations of their kind have been able to continue the success that was guaranteed by the sagacious policy of their predecessors reflects no less credit on the earlier actors than it does upon their successors, who were quick to perceive the wisdom of the policy and mentally equipped to carry it out.

When both of the great systems alluded to were in the process of amalgamation they were severely criticised; but I think no one will at this time dispute the fact that both of the organizations, as at present constituted, serve, and are able to serve, the people better than it was possible for the fragmentary sections of which they were composed to have done, and that they, moreover, give

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much better returns to those who have invested their capital in them. As Sidney Dillon has well said in the April number of THE REVIEW, "Combinations that do not combine, and monopolies whose constant tendency during a long series of years has been to bring producers and consumers into closer relations with each other and lessen the cost of living to both, deserve praise and support rather than censure and adverse legislation."

That this merging of several properties into single organizations is a natural process of improvement is shown, also, by the fact that it is all the time going on and never takes a step backward; and we have yet to learn of a single instance where it has been considered advisable, either by those financially interested or by the public, to disrupt a system thus consolidated and restore it to its original parts, or to make any part independent of the others. Nor has the writer ever known of a consolidation that has not brought a reduction of rates, except where there had previously been such a cutting of rates as would inevitably have landed the property into the hands of a receiver, with all its evil results to both the owners and the public, had not sagacious councils arrested the impending ruin.

It is not for the interest of the public that property wisely created and capable of so much good to the country should be used in such a way as to invite bankruptcy, for by such mismanagement many needed improvements will not be created. There are a few individuals in every community, and probably always will be, who spend their lives in the effort to find some place where they can take up something without laying anything down, and to whom wasteful, and I might almost say wicked, competition among railroads is welcome, so long as it affects favorably their own individual pockets. From these people opposition to legitimate transactions that are based upon the principle of giving the greatest good to the greatest number may always be expected; but I am satisfied that the mass of the intelligent people of the country look with disfavor upon the unhealthy strife between the railroads of this country, which has resulted not only in no permanent good to the patrons of the roads, but in irreparable harm to vested interests and the interruption of that process of development of the country's resources the advance of which, under a more enlightened policy, should be steady and rapid.

The time was when people were afraid of corporations and

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looked upon them with jealousy and distrust; but the history of the world's industry has, I think, taught the majority of the people that corporations are the means whereby the multitude can combine for mutual benefit and protection. In no other way can they compete with the vast capital that is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals; and, this being so, the time should, and I believe will, soon come when communities will call for the same treatment of corporate property that is accorded to individual possessions. Then railroad corporations will not be unjustly interfered with in the exercise of their rights, based upon the most obvious rules of business, by such legislation as culminated some years ago in the Inter-State-Commerce Act.

It should be possible for the railroads to move the product of the farm and the lean ores of the mine at a small profit over train expenses, and thus develop large and important interests, as well as accommodate a large number of men by giving them employment that cannot be obtained when the rates on freight are arbitrarily fixed by law so that these products of the farm and the mine cannot be moved to a market that will take them. The great expense of operating a road of light traffic, the construction of which has been somewhat costly, consists not in the actual expense of running the trains themselves,—which includes only the wear of the track and machinery, the consumption of fuel, oil, and waste, and the wages of the crew,—but in the fixed charges, in which are included the interest on the cost of property, the taxes on the same, and the maintenance of the different departments connected with its management.

Where the price of moving a ton of ore is compulsory, whether ore be rich or lean, the rich will be sent to market and the poor will remain at the dump, instead of being removed, and thus possibly opening a path to richer and more remunerative beds of ore; and in the case of forest products, the fine timber will be profitably taken out, without interfering with the profits of the lumberman, while the cheaper stuff will not be handled. Lean ores and cheap timber should be moved at a small profit over the actual train expenses, but this cannot be done under the present law. I believe the Inter-State-Commerce Act has caused the loss of millions of dollars to the producer, as it would seem evident that no manager of a railroad would fail to bring out over his line tonnage of this character, the marketing of which means so many dollars to the

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lumberman and the mine-owner, employment to many who must otherwise remain unemployed, and the encouragement of worthy industries. These things are so apparent that they should be understood by all.

With many of the railroads of America, which run through large areas of arid country, the problem of existence is a hard one, and the only apparent solution is to secure something out of the bowels of the earth that will bear transportation; and, upon the theory that there is something for man's use everywhere, it should be found here in the form of ores, possibly lean ores; but so long as they will pay something over train expenses, their transportation may provide much work for men and some remuneration to those who carry them.

The railroads known as the overland or Pacific railroads have lost much business because of their inability, on account of the Inter-State-Commerce Law, to compete with the Canadian Pacific, which is able, through the fostering care of a paternal government, unrestricted by legislation, to bid for business on better terms than its American rivals. The struggle between the different companies is not for the interest of a majority of the people who use the railroad, as the very large shippers at the great competing points reached by two or more roads get an immediate benefit from the reduction of rates, while the small dealers are injured in their business to a very considerable extent. Assume that a hundred men are dealing in some particular commodity. Ninety-nine of them may each have a car-load, or less, to ship, which is not enough to make it an object for them to go and "shop" among the different transportation companies for rates; and if they did, the tonnage is not enough to make it an inducement for the companies to cut the rate in their favor; but one man who has, as is sometimes the case, five hundred car-loads to ship is vitally interested, and he accordingly goes about among the various roads until he finally succeeds in obtaining the desired rebates. This not only takes money from the railroad itself, but does great harm to the small shippers, who are crowded out of the market or compelled to sell their product at less net profit than they are fairly entitled to. The shippers who live along the line away from these competing centres are compelled to pay more, as the sums lost at the competing points must be recouped to prevent the railroad company from going into bank-

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ruptcy, as very few of the small roads of the country are paying anything beyond their current and fixed expenses, leaving nothing for the holders of the shares.

What possible remedy is there for such a state of things except joint ownership? As a simple business proposition, it seems to me unanswerable, for, by its application, it can be readily seen that much of the expense of maintaining separate organizations and separate offices will be cut off, and a great multitude of agents and agencies will be dispensed with. On the side of the people quite as much good will be the outcome. The complaint of charging more for a short than for a long haul, which comes from the shipper located between instead of at the important centres, will cease to be heard, because the pernicious system of giving rebates and commissions, or whatever they may be called, that cost the roads so much money and really do their patrons, as a whole, so much harm, will no longer be practised, the excuse or necessity therefor no longer existing.

While the uniting of small roads has been productive of great benefits to the owners and to the public who use them, yet I am satisfied that the best results will not be reached until substantially all the transportation business of this country is done by one company. The accomplishment of this would reduce the cost of transportation to the minimum, which would admit of the lowest possible rates to shippers and passengers. There would be no longer any necessity of charging more for a short than for a long haul, except where water competition existed, as the crossing of railroads at various points would have no further effect upon the rate schedules.

The raising of rates at non-competing points is one of the things done by railroads which it is hard to explain to the satisfaction of those who buy transportation; but it will continue to be done as long as railroads are controlled by scattered interests, and neither agreements nor laws will entirely prevent it. If, on the contrary, all the railroads of the country were held in joint ownership, they would need much less rolling-stock than is now required, as the great staple crops of the country are moved at different seasons of the year, and cars and locomotives could be transferred from one section to another as needed, thus saving a large amount of capital which otherwise, for a considerable portion of the year, would be idle.

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There is another feature of this question that is perhaps hardly taken into account in the public mind, because its bearing upon it appears, at first glance, to be remote; but we are dealing with a problem of the future, and the time is coming when its close relation to it will be appreciated. The existence of an undoubted security for institutions and for the great mass of conservative investors of limited means, who demand above all other qualifications a security that shall be safe, and who rely upon their investments for the incomes which are to support themselves and their families, is soon to become a necessity in America. Our government bonds are constantly being called in and cancelled, whilst the surplus capital of the country is continually increasing. Unless a stable and safe security for the multitude is forthcoming, it does not need the astuteness of a financier to comprehend the possible situation of the future when the investor who seeks an assured income from his savings will have to place his reliance upon the wisdom of his own selection among a list of many hundreds of railway stocks and bonds, subject to all the serious fluctuations that follow in the wake of selfish competition and inefficient management.

The writer has never regarded the existence of a large national debt as an evil in a prosperous and growing country like the United States, whose obligations do not affect the credit of the government and are not significant of any financial embarrassment; but our people have decided otherwise, perhaps not unwisely; nevertheless there must be a substitute for the people to invest their savings in—a security that shall possess the confidence of the entire public. What shall it be? It seems to the writer that nothing will be safer than shares or bonds of the united railroads of this country, and few, if any, other securities will be so easy to negotiate or raise money on. If this is true, why should not a very large number of the people who use these roads invest their money in such an organization, and thus become, to a large extent, the owners and controllers of the railroads that they use?

Ours is a vast country, and no doubt produces more and a greater variety of food for man than any other nation on the earth. All are interested—those who produce and those who consume—in having the enormous tonnage of food gathered and distributed at the lowest possible cost. How to do it is the question that all want to see solved. It was once believed by many,

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and it may still be thought by a very few, that if the farmer had no machinery for reaping, sowing, and gathering his grain, many would get employment and thereby be helped, even if it cost something more to produce. Is there any one who would be benefited by having the transportation cost more than the least possible sum for which the product of the farm could be moved? If that be so, let us all look for that way. It cannot be done by little fragmentary companies, for they cannot practise the economies of wealth, as their poor road-beds, crippled rolling-stock, and lean management will testify. What is wanted is not more than two or three—and one would be better—great carrying companies, with their steel tracks and road-bed as nearly perfect as they can be, with all their machinery of the best quality, with their capacious warehouses at intermediate points, and their almost unlimited terminal facilities. With the best talent in the country to manage and control such an organization, many millions could be saved to those who use the railroads of this country, and millions also to those who own them over what is now being received by the fragmentary, badly-equipped, and inefficiently-managed roads that, with but few exceptions, now exist.

Some fears have been expressed that the great transportation companies of this country would override the rights of the people; but surely there need be no apprehension of that, as certainly there is no danger. Any capitalist, or combination of such, would be weak—yes, worse than weak—to make the effort to stand between the people and their rights, and I am quite sure that few honest and intelligent citizens fear any such combination. To be sure, there are demagogues who cry "Monopoly!" and assert that the great corporations are about to override the liberties of the people; but solicitude for the people is not the real reason of their outcry. It is because they hope to climb up on the noise they make into high places, and into seats that they are not worthy of and have not the ability to fill.

The branch of the government in which all good people have faith,—the sheet-anchor, so to speak, of all we hold dear,—the judicial department of the government, will stand between the rights of the many and the few, and—what is even more important, because the danger is greater—will see that the rights of the few are protected against the improvident, and hence impecuni-

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ous, many. The rights of all should be and, I believe, will be protected. If not all, very soon none.

In the great trial of Warren Hastings, Edmund Burke, addressing the House of Lords, is reported to have said: "It is well for you to remember, gentlemen, that if the time should ever come when British law does not protect the life, the liberty, and the property of the humblest Hindoo upon the banks of the Ganges, no nobleman will be safe on the banks of the Thames."

Justice Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, lately delivered an important address that should be read by every American citizen; and amongst other things he said:

"Public attack upon private property appears conspicuously under the guise of regulation, where charges for the use are so reduced as to prevent a reasonable profit on the investment. The history of this question is interesting. Certain occupations have long been considered of a quasi-public nature—among these, principally the business of carrying passengers and freight. Of the propriety of this classification no question can be made. Without inquiring into the various reasons therefor, a common carrier is described as a quasi-public servant. Private capital is invested, and the business is carried on by private persons and through private instrumentalities; yet it is a public service which they render, and by virtue thereof public and government control is warranted. The great common carriers of the country, the railroad companies, insisted that, by reason of the fact that they were built by private capital and owned by private corporations, they had the same right to fix the prices for transportation that any individual had to fix the price at which he was willing to sell his labor or his property. After a long and bitter struggle, the Supreme Court of the United States, in the celebrated 'Granger' cases, reported in 94 U. S., sustained the power of the public and affirmed legislative control.

"The scope of this decision, suggesting a far-reaching supervision over private occupations, brought vigorously up the question as to its extent. On this line the struggle was again renewed and carried to the Supreme Court, which in the recent case of Railway Company *vs.* Minnesota, 134 U. S. 418, decided that regulation did not mean destruction; and that under the guise of legislative control over tariffs it was not possible for State or nation to destroy the investments of private capital in such enterprises; that the individual had rights as well as the public, and rights which the public could not take from him. The opinion written in that case by Justice Blatchford, sustained as it was by the court, will ever remain a strong and unconquerable fortress in the long struggle between individual rights and public greed."

What has been said in this article of those who deal in the products of the forest and mine applies to an even greater extent to the farmer and herdsman. Flexibility in the carrying-rates is needed, and there are many reasons why this should be so; for the farmer often has poor crops, frequently the market therefor is

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too low, and the best interest of the transportation company lies in helping him over these lean places, as it gives him heart to enter the year that is to follow with courage to plant largely, in the hope that, when the harvest time comes again, he will have a larger output, with better prices, and thus be able to recover the loss of the previous season; while those who control the carrying companies and who, by their protective policy, have helped the farmer in the hour of his trouble and made him happy, would look back with satisfaction upon the wisdom of their own action, which has given them a continuing business, for nothing is much worse than having the cars and machinery of a railroad stand idle upon the tracks.

Again, a great drouth may occur in some sections of our vast country, and it becomes necessary under such circumstances to take out from such districts all the live-stock or to carry food in. Should this not be done, on humanitarian grounds alone, for lower rates than may be charged in sections not so afflicted, and that, too, without much regard to the distance? And when such consideration on the part of the railroad company is really advantageous to itself in the long run, can there be any doubt of its wisdom? What the carrying companies want is a continuing business and a fair profit for each decade, and in this reasonable expectation they should have the right to help their patrons during the "off" years, in the common interest.

Now, all this cannot be regulated by legislation, however carefully such legislation may be devised, simply because no provision of law can anticipate the varying requirements of trade. It can only be done by working upon flexible lines, so to speak, letting prices go up and down as will best serve the interest of both contracting parties. Why should it be otherwise? The judicial branch of the government has decided that it has the power, under the constitution, to say what is a fair income for railroad and other quasi-public institutions that do business for and with the public. Why should State legislatures endeavor to arbitrarily fix the rates, when no doubt the best interest of both shipper and carrier will be served by a graduation of those rates in accordance with the changing conditions of business? Of all property railroads should have the largest freedom, in order that they may be able to earn sufficient to pay a fair interest upon the capital invested, and to earn it in a way that shall most nearly conserve the interests of

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their patrons and themselves. When a fair return upon invested capital has been received, the people, through the courts, can prevent rates from going up, and thus restrict the earnings of a railroad to reasonable figures.

Transportation companies can sometimes gather net money over train expenses in competition with water lines, and they should be allowed to do so, as their permanent way is expensive and fixed. It cannot be moved. The ship has its free right of way over all the seas, on which no taxes and no interest have to be paid; but the railroad is often doubly burdened by a tax not only upon its shares—which are only the evidence of ownership—but upon its real property, which is frequently assessed above its actual value.

In the high dry lands in the centre of the continent a few people have sometimes confederated together and carved counties out of the desert where there was no necessity for their creation, and built court-houses and school-houses where they were not needed, simply because the establishment of these institutions gave them the power to tax the property of the new county to pay for the so-called improvements; the principal, almost the only, property on which taxes could be levied being the railroad by which the so-called county is traversed. And after all this comes the politician with his demand for the appointment of men who, though possessing no interest whatever in the property, or knowledge or experience in its management, shall practically control its business by fixing the rates of fares and freights. Surely the time has come to call a halt, and, in the words of the great jurist, for the conservative branch of the government to step in "between individual rights and public greed."

C. P. HUNTINGTON.

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COÖPERATIVE WOMANHOOD IN THE STATE.

BY MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

SOME one has said that "civilization is organization." Certain it is that associated action for working purposes becomes possible only when society has attained a high state of development. It is the lowest matter in the scale that is unorganized, and of which we speak as inert, whether it be in the physical or social world. There is no surer indication of real advancement than the growing ability among men to subordinate complex and clashing interests, and to act jointly and harmoniously with each other for noble ends.

It was commonly believed in the near past that only half the human race possessed a fitness for organization; that only men knew how to specialize facts, combine for a definite purpose, and so translate isolated feebleness into associated strength without splitting into antagonisms that would defeat their aim. It was declared, *ex cathedrâ*, that women lacked this power; that they were emotional and sensitive, segregated by rivalries and unfaith in one another, unable to subject selfhood to efforts for the general well being; and that, therefore, solidarity of sentiment was not possible to them, nor unification of effort. There was an almost universal consensus of opinion among men on this point. And the facts superficially considered justified this belief. For there was a pitiful paucity of women's organizations in existence until little more than a quarter of a century ago. They were narrow in aim, limited in membership, rent with jealousies and petty scandals, and contemplated no larger results than the education of a theological student, the replenishing of a missionary's wardrobe, or the eking-out of the minister's salary.

The doors of a higher education were not widely open to women then, as now, and they sat in the retreating shadow of ignorance and injustice which has enshrouded them for ages. The predominance of physical force, as the governing power of the barbarous past, had compelled them to live in great isolation with regard to one another. They were weighted with needs and wrongs, and unacquainted with their rights and with the better

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qualities of their common womanhood. It could not be expected that women would rise at once above the arbitrary standards of womanly inferiority steadily set before them. For the inheritance of traits of character is persistent, in proportion to the length of time they have been inherited. It is only through this general law of heredity that it is possible to account for the conservatism of many excellent women, who, from the beginning, have regarded with hostility the movements for the advancement of their sex.

Something more was necessary to arouse women, and to fuse and weld them into unified action, than the opening of doors of education and opportunity. There were needed the stimulus of a powerful appeal to their hearts, the menace of an impending danger to their homes and native land, a trumpet-call to duty that might not be disobeyed; and these came, simultaneously and with irresistible power, with the opening of the Civil War.

The great uprising among men, who ignored party and politics, and forgot sect and trade, in the fervor of their quickened love of country, was paralleled by a similar uprising among women. The incoming patriotism of the hour swept them to the loftiest height of devotion, and they were eager to do, to bear, or to suffer for the beloved country. "The earliest movement for army relief," says Dr. Bellows, "was begun by the women of the nation, and their zeal and devotion no more flagged through the war than did that of the army in the field." The barriers of sect, caste, and conventionalism, which had heretofore separated them, were burned away in the fervid heat of their loyalty. And patrician and plebeian, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, native and foreign-born, Protestant and Catholic, they all worked together, transformed by the spirit of the times into patriotic American citizens. They blundered in their first movements, as did the government in its early attempts to build up an effective army, and both learned by blundering.

President Lincoln, humane as were his instincts, greatly disapproved at first of this coöperative work of women for army relief, and withheld his indorsement of it for weeks, fearing lest it would prove "a dreadful fifth wheel to the coach," to quote his own language. And the highest officials of the government believed so little in the new organization, every day increasing in numbers, means, and effectiveness, that they only sought to render it harmless by "guiding it into a speedy nothingness." After

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many hindrances, the Sanitary Commission received the indorsement of the administration, and slowly the obstacles in the path of the allied women vanished. They had, in reality, become a new volunteer arm of the service, only tolerated in the beginning, but at last trusted, respected, relied upon, and beloved. "I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women," said President Lincoln, some two and a half years later, in a public address at Philadelphia; "but I must say that if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world in praise of women was applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war."

At this time there were between ten and twelve thousand women's aid societies in existence, which, with an average membership of twenty,—and that is a small estimate,—included in the aggregate some two hundred thousand women. Banded together for a common cause, auxiliary to one Sanitary Commission, governed by the same laws, observing the same methods of work, sending all supplies gathered to one common depository, where they were at the service of any needy man who wore the army or navy blue, and all moneys made or collected to one common treasury, they slew sectionalism at the outset, and overcame the difficulties of coöperative undertakings at the very start.

It was understood that women were to raise the money and supplies for army relief, and that men were to disburse them; and this division of labor was observed throughout the war. But the women of the organization so largely outnumbered the men, whose multiform and arduous labors increased with the weary years, that large numbers of women became special disbursing and relief agents on the field, on hospital steamers and transports, in convalescent-camps, soldiers' homes, and elsewhere. There was great reluctance on the part of army surgeons to receive Protestant women nurses, even when their ability, training, and experience were vouched for by physicians at home. The Catholic sisters were preferred, and the first Protestant nurses sent to the hospitals of the Western army were rejected. But the powerful organization behind them appealed to Secretary Stanton, and the Protestant nurses carried the day. Hundreds of them were detailed to the service of nursing, and wrought side by side with the Catholic sisters in undisturbed friendliness, few of them asking or receiving compensation.

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At the close of the war the Sanitary Commission, under whose auspices almost all the volunteer relief work of the army was done, made a general report of its labors to the people, whose agent it was and of whose beneficence it was the almoner. In its financial statement there is this estimate: "The aggregate of the receipts of the commission, of contributions in money to its branches and to their affiliated societies, of contributions of money's worth in goods, free transportation, etc., *cannot be less than twenty-five millions of dollars.*" It is no exaggeration to say that fully half of this vast amount found its way to the depository and treasury of the commission through the agency of its women's aid societies.

This was the first example of coöperative womanhood serving the state the world had ever witnessed, and as an education it was of incalculable value to women and to the nation. While they were working for the relief of the army, women studied the policy of the government, and learned what tremendous issues were at stake—the questions involved in the war and the immediate causes underlying it. They maintained a sturdy devotion to the national cause, lightened the gloom of every reverse, were undismayed by the discouragements of an embarrassed trade and commerce, which brought faintness to the hearts of men, and stoutly rebuked the manifestation of a disaffected, compromising, and unpatriotic spirit. All the while they maintained a prodigious correspondence with the soldiers in the army, "thus keeping the men in the field civilians," says Dr. Bellows, "and making the people at home, of both sexes, half-soldiers."

Not only did these women broaden in their views; they grew practical and executive in work. They learned how to coöperate intelligently with men; became expert in conducting public business, in calling and presiding over public meetings, even when men made a large part of the audience; learned how to draft constitutions and bylaws, to act as secretaries and committees; how to keep accounts with precision and system; how to answer, indorse, and file letters; how to sort their stores and keep an accurate account of stock; they attended meetings with regularity and promptness, and became punctilious in observance of official etiquette; in short, they developed rapidly a remarkable aptitude for business, on which men looked and wondered. "Where were these superior women before the war?" was frequently asked.

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Above all, they learned one another, and found the world grown suddenly large for them, as they formed friendships with women from whom they had long held aloof because of local, sectarian, or personal jealousies and detractions. They had demonstrated the power of associated womanhood, when working harmoniously, and had awakened men to a consciousness that there were in women possibilities and potencies of which they had never dreamed. The lesson has not been forgotten. The young women of that day are the middle-aged women of the present time, better educated than their mothers, more self-poised, and instinct with vital interest in all that concerns the human race. The girls born during that period are our young women, who are coming on the stage better equipped for the work of life and with larger opportunities awaiting them than ever before dawned on a woman's vision. Colleges have been founded for them, scientific, professional; art and industrial schools have opened their doors to them; remunerative employments have given them entrance, sometimes in advance of their capacity and fitness; while freedom of choice and action is the birthright of American women as of no others on the globe. Under these stimulating circumstances, what have women accomplished during the last quarter of a century?

A magazine article would be altogether inadequate for even a condensed answer to this question,—and this paper treats only of women's coöperative work. The leading women of the various Protestant denominations were the first to utilize the coöperative spirit developed by the women of the war. They were painfully impressed with the fact that the foreign missionary associations, to which they were contributing, were not benefiting the women of heathen lands as they were the men, and for two reasons: the funds at their command were insufficient, and, in addition, the women of heathendom were inaccessible to men missionaries, because oriental custom compels their segregation from all male society, save that of their own households. Nor were the wives of the missionaries equal to the task of reaching the heathen women, for they were heavily burdened with their own family cares.

The war had just closed, the soldiers'-aid societies were disbanding, and it was not difficult to win some of the trained workers into a new field of action, especially as the object proposed was "the elevation of women." "Women's missionary boards"

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were speedily formed in several denominations, which made "work for heathen women a specialty," and sent out "unmarried women missionaries to labor for their own sex." They established schools for the native women, and trained them in domestic, industrial, and religious matters. Women physicians, thoroughly educated and duly qualified, were added to the staff of missionary workers, who founded hospitals for women and children, established dispensaries, and trained native women in nursing. The first of these societies was organized less than twenty-five years ago, and the majority of them much later. But they are to-day so numerous that they report "a contributing membership of about one and a half million women, who raise and disburse about two millions of dollars every year." Their schools for women and girls, conducted by trained women teachers, are established by hundreds in all pagan and semi-civilized countries. Only educated single women are employed in the foreign work by these women's boards, and if they possess some grace or charm of manner it renders them more valuable for their self-imposed service. For the daily well-ordered life of a refined, devout, and cultivated young woman must be a perpetual education to the ignorant and down-trodden daughters of heathendom.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union next came to the front—"an association that has become equally distinguished for the friends it has won and the enemies it has made." Its beginnings were small and humble, and its present magnitude and field of operations were not foreseen or provided for. It was the outcome of a protest made by Western women, a decade after the war, against the gross drunkenness of their neighborhoods, which was engulfing them, blighting their homes, defrauding their children, and consigning men, dear to them as their hearts' blood, to beggary, crime, disease, and ruin. The movement was phenomenal and exceptional, and ran like prairie-fire. It could not be copied, cannot be repeated, had its day, and soon spent itself; but it accomplished its work. Like a bugle-blast, it startled the women of the nation, compelled the attention of the country, and has eventuated in an organization which is compact, far-reaching, and dead in earnest. It is organized in every State and territory of the Union, each having its own headquarters, its auxiliary and tributary societies, the whole

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controlled by a national union, whose headquarters are in Chicago, and which meets annually.

Its membership of adult women exceeds two hundred thousand, and is gaining at the rate of ten thousand a year, as was shown by last year's census. Any woman can join the union by signing a pledge of total abstinence from intoxicating beverages and paying her membership fee. For its only creed is "total abstinence for the individual and prohibition for the State." Affiliated with this organization, and under the same management, are large numbers of young women's unions,—"honoraries" that yield money, but have no voice in the direction of affairs, and "loyal legions" composed of children and youth verging on manhood and womanhood,—which swell the working contingent of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union to something like three hundred and fifty thousand members.

The plant of its Women's Temperance Publishing Association was valued last January at $56,934. It publishes three weekly papers, the largest of which attained last year an average weekly circulation of 90,327. During the same time it sent out 125,000,000 pages of literature, among which were books by well-known authors, and handled over $200,000. Its admirable business manager is a woman of large experience and thorough training for her work; its stock sells readily and yields 6 per cent. interest; it can never be sold for less than par value, and then only to women members of the union. Its Woman's Building Association is erecting an immense building on La Salle Street, Chicago, in which the National Union will have headquarters and carry on its manifold and increasing work, and which will ultimately yield a superb income to its treasury. It is to be thirteen stories high, and will cost $1,200,000. It will be ready for occupancy in May, 1892. When completed, the property will be worth two and a half million dollars. Its income from rentals will amount to a quarter of a million. A large number of the offices are already rented.

The objective aim of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is, ultimately, the State. Its managers understand that whoever would change the laws of the republic can only do it by first changing the convictions of the people. They have thoroughly studied the whole question, and are confident that the abolition of the drinking-customs of the country will cause a corresponding reduction in the numbers of criminals, lunatics, paupers,

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defective, dependent, and dangerous classes now afflicting the community. This belief furnishes the stimulus for their tremendous work and sacrifice, and the cohesive force of their organization. All their various religious beliefs and political preferences are subordinated to their one aim, and they all pull together with surprising unanimity, gaining something in one direction or another year by year. In eight years they have procured in thirty-five States, ten territories, and the District of Columbia the enactment of laws which compel the education of twelve million public-school children in the nature and physiological effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics. If in some instances the laws lack force from defective legislation, the women who have made this their life-work remedy difficulties and enlarge and perfect their operations as they proceed. Over thirty other departments of work are organized inside the union, all of which converge towards the one great aim of the association—the cultivation of an enlightened sentiment, that will ultimately abolish drunkenness and extinguish the traffic in alcoholic drinks.

The Illinois Women's Alliance, with headquarters in Chicago, is composed of women sent as delegates from other organizations in the city, and is cosmopolitan in character. Men's organizations join by sending women as delegates. A Masonic chapter, O. E. S., a Christian-science association, aid societies, suffrage, medical, temperance, ethical, and hospital associations, with labor unions, are represented. The delegates of the Trade and Labor Assembly of Chicago represent a force of 25,000 men and women. Women of all classes of society, and from all sects, ignore their differences and unite in work to realize the aims of the alliance, which are as follows: (1) "to obtain enforcement of all laws enacted for the protection of women and children, and to secure the enactment of such laws as may be necessary"; (2) "to investigate all business establishments and factories where women and children are employed, and public institutions where women and children are maintained"; (3) "to procure the appointment of women as health inspectors, as members of boards of education, and to serve on boards of management of public institutions."

In an annual report of the alliance, made last February, there is the following statement of the work it has accomplished:

"It created great excitement by its labors with the City Council, petitioning that body to instruct the Board of Education to enforce the Compul-

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sory-Education Law, which had been a dead-letter for several years, and at last gained its point. The enforcement of the law requires the work of twenty-five truant officers, thirteen of whom are women."

"It called public attention to the fact that one-quarter of the teachers' salaries, each year, was withheld for four months. In the course of the discussion it was brought out that the salaries of policemen and firemen were similarly curtailed each year. Somebody was using the money withheld, or drawing interest on it. The alliance continued the agitation until teachers, police, and firemen promptly received their money."

"It procured the enactment of an ordinance which has caused the appointment of five sanitary policewomen—the first in the world—to inspect the establishments where women and children are employed. They wear a star, and are admitted everywhere. It also caused the enactment of an ordinance forbidding the labor of children over eight hours a day, and the sale of cigarettes to minors under sixteen."

"It attended the meeting of the City Council, in a body five hundred women strong, to emphasize its demand for a second woman on the School Board. She was appointed in spite of the unwillingness of the mayor. It has visited and criticised twenty-six public institutions, for their permanent good."

It has standing committees who are working to procure free bathing establishments and a State school for dependent children, to effect organizations of women according to the political divisions of the city, to attend the County Court on days when homeless children are assigned to institutions, to attend the meetings of the Board of Education, and to visit in turn the public schools. The motto of the alliance is: "Loyalty to Women—Justice to Children!"

It was through the insistent, coöperative work of the women of Massachusetts, which stretched through nearly a dozen years, that the Women's Reformatory Prison was built at Sherborn, in the eastern part of the State, some fourteen or more years ago. It is a model institution of its kind, unsurpassed in the world, and is so wonderfully managed by the women officials who have it in charge that reformation of the majority of its women convicts is almost certain. Some six or seven years ago the women of the State united in another work for women criminals. A House of Detention for all women arrested, and police matrons to take charge of them, had become a necessity. Decency, respect for womanhood, and the proper care of women prisoners demanded it. The Women's Christian Temperance Unions, the Women's Educational and Industrial Union, the Women's Moral Education Association, the New England Women's Press Association, the Woman's Club, and four other large bodies of women joined in

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petitions and work for the new prison accommodations. For five long years they waged an unceasing warfare with sluggishness, ignorance, and brutality, which had intrenched themselves on official boards and in police stations, and finally triumphed. The new House of Detention in Boston was opened in March, and receives four hundred women prisoners monthly, who are in charge of police matrons, and the first step in their recovery from evil is taken. More recently, another movement was made for the appointment of women factory inspectors, for the better oversight and protection of the women and girls employed in the various manufactories abounding in Massachusetts, and that reform was also accomplished.

The women of Massachusetts obtained the right to vote for school committees in 1879. It was so small an opportunity, and so hampered by restrictions and impossible conditions, as greatly to reduce its value in the minds of women. In the small towns of the State the methods of transacting the municipal business were such as to destroy the right altogether, for there was no opportunity given women to vote for school committees. In 1888 there came an occasion when women were able to accomplish something by using the fractional right doled out to them. The Boston School Committee, under the influence of Catholic politicians, had displaced some of the text-books in use, and introduced in their stead others, "expurgated and indorsed by a Baltimore Catholic Plenary Council." They had taken other steps, which were construed as Catholic aggressions on the public schools, and were condemned as unconstitutional and sectarian; and immediately, in advance of the action of men, organizations of women were formed to oppose them. Before the day of election, although the time was short, over 26,000 women had qualified to vote, and of these 19,000 went to the polls, and cast their ballots, in such inclemency of weather as kept hosts of men off the streets. They revolutionized the School Committee, and aroused, for the time, a public spirit that forbade the manipulation of the common schools in the interest of any sect.

In November, 1884, the Ladies' Health-Protective Association was organized in the city of New York, eleven women uniting with it. They began work by attacking the manure-yard of one Michael Kane, at the foot of East Forty-Sixth Street—the filthiest thing in the city. For years he had defiantly maintained

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his monstrous nuisance, despite incessant complaints and a grand-jury indictment. In less than three months his manure-heap had disappeared. In 1886 he tried again, and by the aid of the Legislature sought to establish a permanent dumping-ground between Ninety-fifth and Ninety-seventh Streets. The women promptly rallied, fought him before the grand jury, and through two sessions of the Legislature, and utterly vanquished him. They then addressed themselves to some of the most difficult problems of city government, and accomplished the abatement of slaughter-house nuisances within the city limits and the repair or reconstruction of leaky gas-houses, compelled improvements in the conditions under which cows were kept and fed within the city, exposed the pollutions which were damaging the city's water-supply and brought about their removal, remedied the unsanitary conditions of many of the public schools, the methods of caring for women prisoners, and achieved the suppression of many minor nuisances.

The association wiped out "Little Italy," a district where a colony of Italians had crowded into hovels without the least regard to cleanliness and decency, and where the dirt, squalor, and moral corruption were indescribable. They are still at work, trying to secure public crematories for the disposition of garbage, to accomplish street-cleaning and other much-needed reforms. In the five years of their existence their numbers have increased from eleven to 700, all of whom coöperate in this hard work. They have been obliged to study the laws bearing on the evils they have sought to cure, to secure the opinion of experts, to give personal investigation to nuisances demanding abatement, to become acquainted with legal technicalities, to obtain the repeal, amendment, and enactment of statutes and ordinances. They have come in contact with the dark side of New York, and have visited localities in the prosecution of their work where the escort of several policemen was necessary to protect them from its low and rough classes. They have appeared before the Board of Health, courts, grand juries, and legislative committees—in short, "have done everything in the way of active participation in legitimate municipal politics, except to vote and hold office."

There are upwards of sixty coöperative societies of women, of national scope, engaged in the philanthropies of the country, like

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the Women's Relief Corps, the King's Daughters, protective agencies for women and children, the working-girls' guilds, the women's educational and industrial unions, etc., and their aggregate membership runs up to half a million. They own and erect buildings for their work, disburse funds, look after defective, dependent, and delinquent classes of women and children, establish industrial schools, kindergartens, and day-nurseries, and do whatever other work comes to them for the helping of the age. One of them, the Ramabai Association, stands behind the school for high-caste Hindoo widows, in Poona, India, established and taught by the Pundita Ramabai, who three years ago canvassed America for funds to maintain her school until it should be self-supporting. She has erected a bungalow for her work with money contributed by American women.

The woman-suffrage societies are composed of men and women, in most localities, but the work is almost entirely done by women. The magnitude of the change contemplated by this reform has necessarily delayed it. "It involves a radical reconstruction of social ideas and usages all along the line of human relations," and will not be accomplished until the government, now composed of men alone, shall be changed into a government of men and women. "Twenty-three States have conceded the principle of woman suffrage by making women voters in school elections. Three States have given women the right to vote on liquor licenses. Kansas has given women suffrage in municipal elections. And Wyoming, after twenty-one years' experience as a woman-suffrage territory, has given women full suffrage and political equality through its State constitution." Under cover of the fire which has been kept up for nearly fifty years for women's enfranchisement, the whole social system has been changed. The legal status of wives, mothers, and widows has been greatly modified; education, self-support, and opportunity have been accorded to women; a larger conception of womanhood prevails, and the days of "women's subjection" are nearly ended. The agitation of the woman-suffrage question for half a century has made possible the large work of women to-day, in education, philanthropy, reform, and coöperative work.

Some six years since a Woman's National Council was organized in America, which meets once in three years in Washington, D. C. It is composed of delegates sent from national organiza-

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tions of women only, and at the last meeting of the council, in February, between fifty and sixty of these were represented. Reports were made of the work and gain of women during the past three years, plans were outlined for the future, and the needs, aims, and ideals of women came under general discussion. The audiences were very large, composed mostly of women, serious, attentive, punctual, and enthusiastic. So manifest is the tendency of women at the present time to draw more closely together, to keep touch with each other in thought and purpose, to unite in an organization "superior to any existing society," that the retiring president presented a plan of federation that would accomplish this.

If accepted, there would be organized "within the national government, as carried on by men, a republic of women, duly organized and officered, in no wise antagonistic to men, but conducted as much in their interest as in that of women. It would promote mutual fellowship among women, and establish solidarity of sentiment and purpose throughout the nation of women workers. It would put a premium on organized as against isolated efforts for human betterment. It would train women for the next great step in the evolution of humanity, when women shall sit side by side in government, and the nations shall learn war no more."

Whatever may be the fate of this plan for a national federation of women, one thing is certain. Women have learned the omnipotence and happiness of coöperative work, and the weakness and weariness of that which is isolated. And this is sure to make them more fruitful of accomplishment hereafter, whether their plans of work shall include themselves, their homes and their children, society or the nation.

"For the cause that lacks assistance,
'Gainst the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance,
There's a woman's right to do!"

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

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A FAMOUS NAVAL EXPLOIT.*

BY THE LATE ADMIRAL PORTER.

OFFICE OF THE ADMIRAL,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 21, 1888.

MY DEAR GENERAL:

I received your letter of the 20th instant, informing me that you are about to deliver an address on the "The Young Heroes, Cushing and Custer," and requesting that I would write and give my opinion of Commander Cushing.

I like to talk and write about Cushing. He was one of those brave spirits developed by the Civil War who always rose to the occasion. He was always ready to undertake any duty, no matter how desperate, and he generally succeeded in his enterprises, from the fact that the enemy supposed that no man would be foolhardy enough to embark in such hazardous affairs where there seemed so little chance of success. A very interesting volume could be written on the adventures of Cushing from the time he entered the navy until his death, during which period he performed some remarkable deeds and left a reputation unparalleled for so young an officer.

One of the most gallant and successful affairs accomplished during the Civil War was the destruction of a Confederate ironclad ram by Lieutenant Cushing at Plymouth, N. C., on the night of October 27, 1864. It may be remembered that the ram "Albemarle" had suddenly appeared at Plymouth, causing the destruction of the U. S. S. "Southfield," the death of the brave Lieutenant Flusser, and the retreat of the double-ender "Miami," and had subsequently attacked a flotilla under Captain Melancton Smith, inflicting much damage, but was obliged finally to retire before the Union vessels under the guns of Plymouth, which had

* This extremely interesting letter was addressed to General James Grant Wilson by the late Admiral Porter, and has not heretofore been published.—EDITOR NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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fallen into the hands of the Confederates owing to the advent of the "Albemarle."

As soon as Lieutenant Cushing heard of this affair he offered his services to the Navy Department to blow up the "Albemarle," provided the department would furnish proper torpedo-boats with which to operate. His services were accepted, and he was ordered to the New York Navy-Yard to superintend the fitting out of three torpedo-launches on a plan deemed at that time a very perfect one.

Cushing, though a dashing "free-lance," was not so well adapted to the command of a "flotilla" (as he called his three steam-launches). When completed, he started with his boats from New York, via the Delaware and Raritan Canal, as proud as a peacock. One of them sank in the canal soon after he started; another was run on shore by the officer in charge, on the coast of Virginia, in Chesapeake Bay, where she was surrendered to the Confederates; while Cushing, with that singular good luck which never deserted him, steamed down the bay through the most stormy weather, and arrived safely at Hampton Roads, where he reported to me on board the flagship "Malvern."

This was my first acquaintance with Cushing, and, after inquiring into all the circumstances of the loss of the other two torpedo-boats, I did not form the most favorable opinion of Cushing's abilities as a flotilla-commander. Cushing's condition when he reported on board the flagship was most deplorable. He had been subjected to the severest exposure for over a week, without shelter, had lost all his clothes except what little he had on, and his attenuated face and sunken eyes bore witness to the privations he had suffered. Officers and crew had subsisted on spoiled ship's biscuit and water and an occasional potato roasted before the boiler fire.

I at once ordered Cushing and his men to stow themselves away for rest, and directed them not to appear till sent for. In the mean time the launch, which had been very much disarranged and shattered, was being put in complete order. After the officers and crew had obtained forty-eight hours' rest, I sent for Cushing and gave him his instructions, which were to proceed through the Dismal Swamp Canal and the sounds of North Carolina, and blow up the "Albemarle," then lying at Plymouth preparing for another raid on the Union fleet. Commander W. H. Macomb, command-

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ing in the sound, was ordered to give Cushing all the assistance in his power, with men and boats.

When rested and dressed, Cushing was a different-looking man from the pitiable object who had presented himself to me two days before. Scanning him closely, I asked him many questions, all of which were answered satisfactorily, and, after looking steadily into his cold, gray eye and finding that he did not wink an eyelid, I said: "You will do. I am satisfied that you will perform this job. If you do, you will be made a lieutenant-commander."

On the very morning appointed for Cushing to sail on his perilous expedition an order came from the Navy Department to try him by court-martial for some infraction of international law towards an English vessel, which, according to Mr. Seward, had endangered the *entente cordiale* between England and the United States. I showed Cushing the order, but he was not disconcerted. "Admiral," he said, "let me go and blow up the 'Albemarle,' and try me afterwards."

"Well done for you," I said; "I will do it. Now get off at once, and do not fail, or you will rue it."

So Cushing, who dreaded a court-martial more than he did the ram, went on his way rejoicing, passed through the canal, and on the 27th of October reported to Commander Macomb.

Cushing was near coming to grief on his first setting-out. Like all "free-lances," he liked a frolic, and could not resist champagne and terrapin; so on the evening of his arrival at Norfolk he gave a supper to his numerous friends, "and then—the deluge!" I heard of the supper, of course,—it was my business to hear of such things,—and I despatched Fleet-Captain Breese in a swift steam-launch to arrest the delinquent and have him tried for intruding on the *entente cordiale* between the United States and Great Britain; but Captain Breese returned with the report that Cushing was on his way and that "it was all right." "No," I said, "it is not 'all right'; and if the expedition fails, you—" but never mind what I said.

By eight o'clock on the 27th of October Cushing had picked out his volunteers from Macomb's flotilla. They consisted of thirteen officers and men, one of whom was the faithful William L. Howarth, who had accompanied him in most of his daring adventures, and these two together felt that they were a match for

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any iron-clad in the Confederacy. That night Cushing started off on the expedition, towing the "Otsego's" cutter with an armed crew, who were to be employed in seizing the Confederate lookouts on board of the late U. S. S. "Southfield," which lay below Plymouth with her decks just above water.

The ram lay about eight miles from the mouth of the river, which was two or three hundred yards in width and supposed to be lined with Confederate pickets. The wreck of the "Southfield" was surrounded by schooners, and it was understood that a gun had been mounted here to command the bend of the river. When the steam-launch and her tow reached the "Southfield," the hearts of the adventurers began to beat with anxiety. Every moment they expected a load of grape and canister, which would have been the signal for *qui vive* all along the river bank.

The expedition was looked upon as a kind of forlorn hope by all who saw it start, and Cushing himself was not certain of success until after he passed the "Southfield" and the schooners. His keen gray eye looked into the darkness ahead, intent only on the "Albemarle." The boat astern of the launch cast off at the right time and secured the pickets on board the schooners without firing a shot, and Cushing and his party passed unobserved by the pickets on the river banks, who depended on the lookouts on board the "Southfield" and were making themselves comfortable under cover. This was a fortunate circumstance for Cushing, for otherwise the expedition might have failed. As it was, the torpedo-launch was enabled to approach unobserved to within a few yards of the "Albemarle."

The ram had been well prepared for defence, and a good lookout was kept up on board. She was secured to a wharf with heavy logs all around her—in fact, she was in a pen. Half of her crew were on deck with two field-pieces and a company of artillery, and another company of artillery was stationed on the wharf with several field-pieces, while a bright fire of pine logs burned in front of them.

Cushing immediately comprehended the situation, and while he was making his plans the lookout on board the "Albemarle" discovered the launch and hailed, when there succeeded great excitement and confusion amongst the enemy. Cushing dashed at the logs on which the light was reflected, and by putting on all steam he pushed them aside and struck the "Albemarle" bows

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on. In the mean time the enemy had become thoroughly aroused and the men on board the ram rushed to quarters and opened on the torpedo-boat, but the Confederates were swept away by the discharge of a twelve-pound howitzer in the bow of the launch. A gun loaded with grape and canister was fired by the enemy, but the fire of the boat howitzer disconcerted the aim of the Confederate gunner, and the charge passed harmlessly over.

While all this firing was going on, the torpedo boom was deliberately lowered until it was under the "Albemarle's" bottom, or overhang, and by a quick pull of the firing-rope the torpedo was exploded. There was a tremendous crash and a great upward rush of water which instantly filled the topedo-boat, and she went drifting off with the current, but she left the "Albemarle" rapidly sinking. The Confederate commander, Lieutenant A. W. Warley, encouraged his crew and endeavored to keep his vessel afloat as soon as he discovered the damage done, but the water gained so rapidly through the aperture made by the explosion that the "Albemarle" was soon on the bottom, her smoke-stack only remaining above water. As the Confederates had no appliances for raising the iron-clad, they did all they could to damage her further, knowing that the Federal flotilla would not be long in appearing to claim the prize.

The "Albemarle" had been fully prepared for this attack, and had her crew at their posts; which makes the successful raid the more to be appreciated. A good watch was kept on board the ram, as was shown by the alertness with which the crew got to quarters and fired their guns; but they escaped to the shore with equal alertness, for the "Albemarle" sank with great rapidity. It was fortunate for Cushing that he succeeded in passing the pickets along the river undisturbed, for otherwise he would have had a warm reception all along the line; but he seemed to be the child of fortune, and his good luck followed him to the close of the war.

When the fire was opened on the torpedo-boat, Assistant-Paymaster Frank H. Swan was wounded at Cushing's side. How many others had been injured was not known. It seemed as if a shower of grape-shot had hit the boat, and that a rifle shell had passed through her fore and aft; but this was not so. The boat had sunk from the rush of water caused by the torpedo; and when Cushing saw that she would probably fall into the hands of the

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enemy, he jumped overboard with some of the crew, and swam down the river under a heavy fire of musketry, which, however, did no harm.

When some of the crew of the torpedo-boat who had jumped overboard saw that she had only filled with water and did not sink, they swam back to her and climbed on board, hoping that the boat would float away with the current from the scene of danger; but in this they were mistaken; for as soon as the Confederates recovered from their panic and saw the torpedo-boat drifting away, they manned the boats of the "Albemarle," which were still intact, and followed the author of the mischief. Surrounding the steam-launch, with oaths and imprecations they demanded the surrender of the Union party. Nothing else was left for the latter to do. Their arms were all wet in the bottom of the boat and the enemy was lining the banks with sharpshooters, so that "discretion was the better part of valor."

"Blast you," said one of the Confederates, "if you sunk us with your cowardly torpedo-boat, we licked your whole squadron last week, and we will make you fellows smell thunder with a ball and chain to your leg."

This was the first the torpedo-boat's crew had heard of the sinking of the "Albemarle." In fact, they were under the impression that the attack was a failure, and that the boat had been filled by a rifle shell striking her, and not by the water thrown up by the explosion. They all gave three cheers, though they knew that the Confederates were exasperated and their carbines were pointed at the captives' heads.

In the mean time Cushing was quietly swimming down the river, keeping in the middle of the stream, when, hearing a noise near him, he looked around and found that two other persons were in company with him. One of them whispered: "I am getting exhausted; for God's sake help me to the shore."

"Who are you?" said Cushing.

"I am Woodman. I can go no farther: save me if you can."

At the same moment a gurgling sound was heard a little to the rear, and the third man sank to rise no more.

Cushing himself was much exhausted. He had managed to rid himself of his heaviest clothing and his boots, and was just letting himself drift with the current, but he could not resist this

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appeal from Woodman, who had risked his life to assist him in his perilous undertaking. He put an arm around him and tried to reach the bank, only sixty yards away, but all his efforts were futile. Woodman was too much exhausted. He could not help himself, and, cramps coming on, he was drawn all up, got away from Cushing, and sank.

Thus the only two survivors known to Cushing from the steam-launch had sunk before his eyes, and he did not know how soon his own time would come, for he was now so much exhausted that he could scarcely use his arms for swimming. At the same time he heard the shouts of the Confederates as they captured the launch, and, supposing that the enemy would send their boats down the river in search of fugitives, he determined to swim to the shore. He could barely crawl out of the water when he reached the bank at a point about a mile below Plymouth.

Cushing dragged himself into an adjacent swamp, and, while lying concealed a few feet from a path along the river, heard two of the "Albemarle's" officers and a picket guard pass by, and learned from their conversation that the iron-clad was at the bottom of the river. He did not care now what became of him; that was glory enough for one day, and he would take no heed for the morrow.

As soon as his strength would allow, Cushing plunged into the dense swamp, where he was not likely to be followed, and, after incredible difficulties in forcing his way through the mud, slime, and brambles, reached a point well below the town, where he felt safe. Here he fell in with a negro who, for a consideration (being a Union man), volunteered to go to Plymouth to find out exactly how matters stood. The negro soon returned with the cheering news that the "Albemarle" was actually sunk, and that the Confederates were in great consternation. Thus cheered, Cushing pursued his tedious journey through the swamps till, coming suddenly to a creek, he found one of the enemy's picket-boats, of which he took possession. He pulled away with all his remaining strength, not knowing at what moment he might get a bullet through his head from the guard to whom the boat belonged, who was no doubt not far off in some shanty playing cards with a fellow-picket.

By eleven o'clock the following night Cushing reached the gunboat "Valley City," out in the sound, and was taken on

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board more dead than alive, after one of the most remarkable and perilous adventures on record. Certain it was that Cushing had made himself famous by performing an achievement the dangers of which were almost insurmountable, for the enemy had taken every precaution against just such an attempt as had been made.

The success of Cushing shows that a man who makes up his mind to a certain thing and goes directly to the point, undeterred by obstacles, is almost sure to win, not only in blowing up ships, but in every-day affairs of life where great stakes are at risk. Here was a chance, and Cushing "seized the bull by the horns," *voild tout.* No doubt he would have made the attempt if he had been obliged to run the gantlet of all the pickets from the mouth of the river to Plymouth.

This gallant affair led to the recapture of Plymouth from the Confederates, for Commander Macomb had been ordered by me to attack the town (in case the "Albemarle" was destroyed) with the Federal gunboats, which he did most successfully, and Plymouth remained in possession of the Federal forces to the end of the war. Cushing was promoted a little later, and received some sixty or seventy thousand dollars in prize money; and suffice it to say that I never tried Cushing by court-martial on Secretary Seward's charges of endangering the *entente cordiale* between England and the United States.

In many respects Cushing and Custer were alike: what one was to the navy the other was to the army,—dashing, reckless, brave men, strangers to fear, who never thought of the consequences to themselves in any undertaking, no matter how desperate. The two men were not only similar in character, but person; their features were bold, the expression of the eyes was the same, and both had lithe figures which seemed proof against fatigue. Put them side by side, and they would have passed for brothers. Perhaps nature fashions that kind of men alike mentally and physically. Certain it is that Cushing and Custer were two of the most fearless spirits who made their marks in the two branches of the service during the Civil War.

I remain, very respectfully yours,

DAVID D. PORTER, Admiral U. S. Navy.

General JAMES GRANT WILSON.

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ANECDOTES OF ENGLISH CLERGYMEN.

BY THE HON. C. K. TUCKERMAN.

THE "Established Church" in England is a marvellous institution; not so much for what it does in the saving of souls as from the fact that it is *established*. Anything established and maintained by government is a potent magnet which attracts and holds fast the iron will of conservative Englishmen. The why or wherefore is a question never raised; the fact is accepted by the adherents of the church though it should override religion itself. I heard an old conservative, who had been impatiently listening to the argument of a dissenter against church doctrine, put an end to the discussion by bringing his fist down upon the table with a tremendous bang, as he exclaimed: "Sir, it matters not whether the doctrines of the Church of England are sound or unsound: they are *established*, and that is enough for me."

I have met casually several distinguished clergymen of both the established and dissenting churches, and have found them, socially, to be among the most delightful of conversationalists. Especially has this been the case when my clerical companion has been alone with me in a railway carriage, on shipboard, or at a foreign hotel, where, freed, for the time being, from the restraints of professional conventionality, he has betrayed the mundane side of his character, expanded into mirth, and proved that, as Sam Slick puts it, there was "a good deal of human nater in the man, arter all."

My first specimen of an English clergyman left upon my mind such an agreeable impression of geniality and unaffected kindness, although I was an entire stranger to him, that it very likely gave a color to my subsequent opinion of the whole class. This was many years ago, when, as a young and inexperienced traveller, I was visiting London for the first time. He was a tall, distinguished-looking man, with marked features and a most benevolent expression of countenance, and wore a stiff clerical hat, leggings, and shoe-buckles. He was standing beside me in front of the cage of monkeys at the Zoölogical Gardens, when a most amusing scene

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occurred. What we saw was this: In the midst of the antics going on in the cage, or, rather, large compartment, filled with monkeys of all sorts and sizes, one little fellow sat on his tree at the extremity of the cage casting his eyes about, apparently intent on mischief. Suddenly he sprung to the ground, and, stealthily creeping along the back of the cage, so as to escape observation, approached, from behind, a big old-fashioned-looking ape, who, like a grave judge absorbed in meditation, sat immovable, and apparently unconscious of what was going on about him, on a high post at that end of the cage. Watching his opportunity, the little monkey glided up the post and pulled the big one's tail. In a second he was back again at the spot he had left, securing his retreat by following the same course as before, and, gliding up the tree, sat there looking into vacancy, the picture of conscious innocence. Old Judge, who had no idea of allowing the act of indignity put upon him to pass unpunished, took his time about it. Moving his great clumsy body slowly round so as to survey the entire cage, he carefully examined the face of each monkey in turn to ascertain, by its expression, which among them was the culprit. This investigation lasted several minutes, when finally, by some intuitive process of mind, he seemed to have decided that the little innocent-looking fellow on the far-off tree was the one who was "wanted." Thereupon, with a succession of tremendous leaps over monkeys and under monkeys, the big beast reached the tree where sat the offender, mounted it, and, before the latter had a chance to escape, seized him by the nape of the neck and cuffed his ears. Having thus passed sentence and executed it at the same time, Old Judge descended the tree, and, walking solemnly back to his post, resumed his attitude of dignified repose.

"Wonderful! Wonderful!" said the clergyman at my side, turning towards me; "almost human; is it not?" Then, encouraged by my interest in the proceedings, he enlarged upon the traits and characteristics of the monkey, giving many details which were new to me. As he conversed we passed on together to the adjoining room, where some specimens of snakes attracted his attention, upon which he again discoursed, giving me a good deal of information in a familiar, unobtrusive way that surprised and charmed me. Still conversing, we passed out of the building and down the broad garden walk, at the end of

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which I parted from my affable companion, with thanks for his entertaining conversation.

"Who is that clergyman?" I asked of a man in livery, a guide or superintendent of the garden, who, at a little distance off, had been profusely bowing to the reverend gentleman as he passed on his way. The man looked at me as if I were hoaxing him.

"You do not know, sir? Why, I thought I seed you a-walkin' and a-talkin' with His Grace."

"His Grace? Then he is a bishop, I suppose. I ought to have known as much from the cord on his hat."

"That gentleman, sir, with whom you've ben a-walkin' and a-talkin', is His Grace"—here the man stepped back the better to observe the effect upon me of the information he was about to impart—"the Harchbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all Hingland!" (Dr. Sumner.)

One Sunday I attended the services, at St. George's Hall, of the Rev. Charles Voysey, whose influence, although limited to a small congregation, is an influence for good. Formerly a preacher of the Church of England, Voysey was inhibited, chiefly through the instrumentality of the Archbishop of York, and after trial by the bench of bishops was declared to be guilty of "erroneous doctrine." The case created some excitement at the time, and the subscription by the friends of Voysey to the "defence fund" showed an undertone of theological sympathy for him which had not been supposed to exist. On the Sunday when I was present the discourse dwelt upon the alarming increase of dishonest practices in commercial transactions, and, among other instances, the preacher alluded to the adulteration of American products and the weighting of cotton bales with scrap-iron previous to their shipment to Liverpool. Some instances of this fraud had lately come to light, but I believed these to be exceptional, and that the sweeping assertion of general dishonesty reflected most unfairly upon a large and respectable body of my countrymen. This I stated in a letter I addressed to him on the following day, and, as each sermon was subsequently printed for general distribution, I begged that the statement from the pulpit might be corrected before printing. Mr. Voysey promptly replied, expressing his regret for the charge he had made under a misapprehension of the facts, and promised to make the necessary corrections. When this was done, I thought it proper to thank Mr. Voysey in per-

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son, and found him to be a most agreeable and intelligent gentleman.

The Rev. Stopford Brooke is another independent clergyman, but of a different stamp. When I first met him at the house of his friend and parishioner, Mr. Russell Sturgis, he was one of the "Queen's chaplains" and was filling St. James's Chapel with the admirers of his pure and graceful oratory. In the course of conversation I expressed my regret that I could not obtain a pew for my family in the body of his church. He said, with a smile, that before long there would be no difficulty in obtaining one, for, not being liberal enough for one prime minister and too liberal for another prime minister (naming them), he expected, between the two stools, to come to the ground. And soon afterwards this occurred, or, rather, he descended gracefully, of his own accord, from a position which had become gradually irksome to him by the growth of his independent thought. Then he established a church of his own, where he could enunciate his theological views without conscientious scruples. He told me one day, as he sat smoking a brier pipe in his library, that he had gained, in point of numbers, as many members for his new church as he had lost from the old one. Since then, I believe, the increase of membership has been large.

I will now introduce an English clergyman of an equally distinct class, the Rev. Charles Spurgeon, whose acquaintance I made in the smoking-room of a hotel on the Italian Riviera, where we met regularly after dinner for a succession of weeks. Sometimes we were alone together; at other times the company of smokers was enlarged; but in either case Spurgeon confined himself to his one cigar per day, and, when it was consumed, retired to his own rooms for study or for work, never reappearing except at the *table-d'hôte* meals. When alone with me his conversation was chiefly confined to the religious work he is engaged in; his London "Tabernacle," with its five or six thousand worshippers; his college for clergymen or his orphanage, both of which he founded; his books and other writings; or the details of his clerical life.

When Spurgeon and I were joined by other gentlemen in the smoking-room, he dropped his personal affairs and joined in whatever subject came up. But I never knew an evening to pass without at least one good anecdote from his immense répertoire.

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I heard him preach but once, and that was in London, but not in his own Tabernacle. There was nothing especially quaint in his delivery, but he was, of course, original.

Toward the close of his sermon he said he had a letter to read to the congregation, and produced it from his pocket. It was from an English lad who had found employment on a farm in one of the Western States of America, but of whom he had never heard before the receipt of the letter. In it the lad said he felt bound to write to Mr. Spurgeon and thank him for having "saved his soul." This had occurred, the writer went on to say, when Mr. Spurgeon addressed him in the sermon *personally*; and he could not sufficiently express his sense of obligation. He was happy, doing well on the farm, and so forth. Spurgeon remarked that the sermon referred to must have been one in which he had called upon the young men and young women present as "You, John—You, Tom—You, Bill—You, Mary—Jane—Susan," and so on, to abandon whatever vices they had and to embrace religion. The "Tom" who wrote this letter, supposing himself to be individually addressed, had taken the matter seriously to heart. Spurgeon was glad that he had done so.

Spurgeon told me that many individuals remembered him personally whom he had forgotten. Thus, on one occasion, a man stepped forward as he was passing out of church, announced his name, and grasped the preacher fervently by the hand. "I see," said he, "that you have forgotten me, sir; and yet you once did me the greatest service that a clergyman can render to anybody."

"What service was that?" said Spurgeon.

"You buried my wife, sir," replied the man, his eyes suffused with tears.

At a breakfast-party in London the guests had been for some time in the drawing-room before going in to breakfast, when the host said to me: "We are waiting for the Bishop of Winchester [Wilberforce], but if he does not appear soon, we will go in without him." At last the bishop was announced. He entered the room with a hurried, nervous air, as if somewhat agitated.

"You are late, bishop," said our host, Earl G——.

"*Late!*" exclaimed the bishop; "the wonder is that I am here at all."

At this we gathered about him to hear what had happened. He said that he had come on foot, and that when about to cross

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Pall Mall a hansom cab, with two men in it, attempted to run him over. He firmly believed it was the intention of the two occupants to take his life in this way. Then, starting back as if greatly surprised, he pointed at two of the guests—very distinguished men, who were personal friends of his—and exclaimed: "I declare, if there are not the very two chaps!" Upon this there was a general laugh, the company perceiving that the bishop was only indulging in one of his habitual jokes. "It's a great shame," continued Wilberforce, with assumed gravity, "that, whilst the proud man drives, the poor man who has to go on foot cannot be allowed to do so in safety."

In personal appearance the bishop was not imposing, being under the average height. His face was intellectual and did not indicate the keen sense of humor he possessed. This quality he seemed to keep in abeyance for appropriate occasions. Of the many sayings attributed to him I remember the following: On being asked, during a moral discussion, what he considered the best way to heaven, he replied: "Turn to the right and keep straight on."

While on a visit to a country house a carriage party was made up for a drive and the bishop was urged to join it, but he insisted on walking, and started off on foot by himself. On the road the carriage party passed him as he was trudging along, and one of the company shouted out to him, quoting from Watts's hymn:

> "How blest is he who ne'er consents
> By ill advice to *walk*."

To whom the bishop shouted back, completing the stanza:

> "Nor stands in sinners' ways, nor *sits*
> Where men profanely talk."

Dr. Thomson, Archbishop of York, who died recently, apart from his commanding position, was noted for remarkable intellectual abilities. Several years ago, having a letter of introduction to Mrs. Thomson from a relative of hers residing abroad, I and my wife received a cordial invitation to visit them at Bishopsthorp, a few miles from the old cathedral town of York. We found there a small party of guests, and our stay of a few days was extremely interesting.

It was at the dinner-table, or, rather, after the ladies had withdrawn and when His Grace pushed back his chair from the table

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and crossed his purple legs to compose himself for free-and-easy conversation, that I thought him at his best. It was the hour when, relieved from official restraint and the daily weight and annoyances of clerical life, he unbent for social intercourse and discussed matters having no possible relation to his particular calling, and frequently enlivened the chit-chat with pertinent and amusing anecdotes.

The archbishop asked me one day, when we were alone, about the social habits of the American clergy at home, and explained his motive for putting the question by narrating the following incident. He once received a letter from an American bishop, then travelling in England, enclosing an introduction in behalf of himself and another bishop who were visiting Europe in company. They were both from a remote Western State. The archbishop responded at once by letter to the address given, and invited them to visit him at York, requesting his correspondents to reply if the day appointed would suit their convenience, and, if not, to name the day when he might expect them. To this letter no answer was received. Several weeks, if not, indeed, months, passed without a word from the travellers, and the archbishop, concluding that his own or the others' letter had miscarried, dismissed the matter from his mind. One day the servant announced to His Grace that two travellers, each carrying a handbag and covered with dust, were waiting in the hall. They proved to be the two American bishops, who thus presented themselves *sans façon*, in acknowledgment of their host's invitation. The only explanation offered for this sudden and unlooked-for appearance was that they thought "any time" would do for their visit, and so postponed it until their return journey through England made it more convenient to take York on their way. Unfortunately, the house was full of visitors at the time, and it was only by putting the members of the family to personal inconvenience that rooms were provided for the two unexpected guests. With the exception of having the dust removed from their travelling costumes, they appeared at dinner, during the days of their stay at Bishopsthorp, in the same clothes in which they arrived.

It is only by obtaining a personal glimpse of the interior lives and occupations of the highest class of English clericals that one perceives how grave a mistake it is to assume that the mitre, the

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pomp, the power, and the enormous salaries which accompany such positions are unmixed honors or blessings. So far as my observations went, the two archbishops of England not only felt acutely the vast responsibility of their office, but were among the hardest workers in the land. The demands upon their time, patience, and purse are beyond calculation, and it often happens that, so far as pecuniary matters are concerned, the higher the prelate the poorer are the means at his disposal. The late Archbishop of York was no exception to this rule, and on one occasion he lamented to me his inability to visit the United States—something he greatly desired to do—because of the expense. One item alone he thought would prevent it, namely, the extra premium he would be called upon to pay on his life-assurance policy!

Dr. Thomson owed his elevation to Prince Albert, on whom and the Queen his imposing appearance and eloquent preaching had made an impression. He was not, however, the only candidate in the field, as appears in a letter from the late Lord Houghton to his wife, published in the latter's memoirs. Houghton writes: "The Dean of Windsor told us that the sharpest bishop-making the Queen ever had was when she rejected Waldegrave for York, and Lord Palmerston told her she knew nothing about it and she answered, 'No more do you,' and she named your Ebor."

There is an amusing story in this connection which, as coming from Mrs. Thomson herself, is worth repeating, even if it has already appeared in print. When Dr. Thomson was bishop of Gloucester he was occasionally a sufferer from toothache, and resorted, by medical advice, to narcotics to relieve the pain. One morning, after a night of great suffering, he left the house to consult the doctor; Mrs. Thomson entreating him not to allow the latter to prescribe a narcotic, as it affected his brain for some hours afterwards. On his way the bishop met the postman, who handed him a large official envelope. He opened it in the street and read, to his surprise and gratification, his appointment to the see of York. He hastened back to communicate to his wife the exciting news. "Zoe—Zoe," he exclaimed, "what do you think has happened? I am Archbishop of York!"

"There! there!" she rejoined; "what did I tell you? You've been taking that horrid narcotic again and are quite out of your head."

CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN.

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DOGS AND THEIR AFFECTIONS.

BY OUIDA.

An English writer has declared that, in view of the moral advantages which man enjoys from constant intimacy with the dog, the former has not derived all the benefits he might have done from contact with the latter. This is one of those jests which is not without its substance and suggestion in fact. The dog does continually display qualities from which man may with advantage mould his own conduct, and in unselfishness the canine animal leaves the human animal far behind him.

There is a charming story by Louis Enault, called the "*Chien du Capitaine,*" which I should wish every one who cares for dogs to read, and which would, even in those who do not care for them, awaken sympathy with the loyal, rough-coated, four-footed hero in his troublous Odyssey from Senegal to Normandy. A French critic once gravely objected to a story of this kind on the score that *un chien ne pourrait pas penser.* Now, that a dog can and does think, and think to much purpose, there can be no doubt whatever in those who have studied dogs in life with sympathy and attention. I am quite sure that a dog thinks in exactly the same manner as ourselves, although in a different measure. Sight and hearing being supplemented in him by that wonderful sensibility of the olfactory nerves conferring on him a sixth sense of which we can form but a very vague conception, the dog's views, actions, antipathies, attachments, and judgment of all events, places, and persons are colored and guided by what this delicate and marvellous set of nerves tells him about them. The physiologist who destroyed the nerves of a dog's nose destroyed in him all powers of discrimination, selection, and attachment, and, without the cruel operation, might have known that he would do so. It is impossible for us to measure the innumerable and sensitive impressions conveyed by the olfactory nerves to the canine brain; but that on receiving these impressions this brain thinks exactly as the human brain thinks there can be no doubt in any one who is accustomed to study dogs. I have seen a dog stand-

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ing in a doorway looking up and down and pondering which way it would be most agreeable to take, precisely as a lounger will stand on the steps of his club and meditate whether he shall turn to the right or to the left.

Dogs have very strongly-marked volition, inclination, and powers of choice, and their wishes are too often neglected and set aside or brutally thwarted. The general idea of a well-brought-up dog is a dog that is cowed out of all will of his own; but it is only in leaving the animal much of his own will that the interesting characteristics of his idiosyncrasy can be studied and enjoyed. A dog who is afraid is a dog who has been robbed of the frank charm of his original temper; he becomes hesitating and sad, if he does not become sullen, and is so timid lest he should offend that all his delightful impulsiveness disappears; instead of a varied and most interesting individuality, you have a mere machine wound up and moved by the single spring of fear.

Men too often forget that all which they command is against the nature of the dog, opposed to his instincts, oppressive to his desires; and they should be infinitely more gentle and forbearing than they are in the imposition of their orders. The most entirely amusing, delightful, and affectionate dogs that I have ever known have been the most completely insubordinate. They were tiresome, no doubt, sometimes; but, in compensation, how droll, how interesting, how devoted, how beautiful in their lithe, free attitudes, how gay and how good-humored in their sportiveness!

With our dogs, as with our human friendships and affections, to enjoy much we must sacrifice something. We must like the animal for himself as well as for ourselves. There is as much difference in the characters of dogs as in those of men. I have known many, but I have never known two alike.

I see with utter disapprobation and regret all the tendency of modern times to make the dog into a chattel to gamble with in a minor degree as the horse is made in a greater sense. All the shows and prizes and competitions and heartburnings, all the advertisements of stud dogs and pedigrees and cups won by this dog and by that, are injurious to the dog himself, tend to make external points in him of a value wholly fictitious, and to induce his owners to view him with feelings varying in ratio with his success or failure at exhibitions. The physical sufferings endured by dogs at these shows, the long journeys, the privations, the separation from

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places and persons dear to them, the anxiety and sorrow entailed on them,—all these things are injurious to them and are ill compensated by the questionable good done to the race by the dubious value of conflicting verdicts on the excellence of breed and form.

The Maltese (called in French the Havanais) dog has been ruined in England by the absurd decree of the judges at dog-shows that the hair of this breed should have no curl or wave in it. On the contrary, a perfect Maltese or lion-dog should have undulating hair, fine and soft as floss silk, curling at the ends and when brushed out surrounding his body with a snowy cloud.

This most beautiful of all small dogs was a fashionable pet from the days of Louis XIII. to the Revolution, and in all pictures in which he is portrayed (he was termed *chien du manchon*) the hair is waving and curling at the ends. The decree also of dog-show judges that there should be no fawn in the ears is an error; for in the most perfect specimens of this breed, which are to be found in Italy, the fawn-colored tips are often seen. I wish that I could restore the exquisite lion-dog to its place in fashion, usurped so unfittingly by the squat, clumsy, deformed dachshund, who is as ugly as he is out of place on the cushion of a carriage or a boudoir. The lion-dog is admirable, beautiful, and his aristocratic appearance, his little face which has a look of Gainsborough's and Reynolds's children, his white silken coat, and his descent from the darlings of Versailles and Whitehall, all make him an ideal dog for women. He is of high courage and of great intelligence; take him all in all, there is no dog his equal, and this little tender patrician will fight till he drops.

The dog I have cared most for in my life was of this breed; his name, Ali, had been corrupted into Lili; he was lovely to the sight, passionately devoted in affection, and of incomparable courage. He lived with me for nine years, which were as happy years to him as it was possible for a dog to know, and he lies in his last sleep between two magnolia-trees under a marble sun-dial, on whose base a famous and noble poet has written his epitaph:

> "Ecquid est quod jure docemus amabile?
> Nos amat, et nobis esse fidele potest,
> Lili, pelle canis, data sunt tibi pelle sub ista,
> Digna fides hominis pectore dignus Amor."

Which for the unlearned may be roughly translated as meaning that there is nothing so precious to us as the heart which loves

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and responds to ours, and that such a heart was Lili's, although clothed in a canine form.

The Maltese, the most patrician of all small dogs, was, as I have said, at the height of his fashion in the years immediately preceding the French Revolution, and the little dog with which the poor little dauphin used to play in the gardens of Tuileries was of this race. What became of this royal pet? How many poor little pet dogs must have been left to starve and shiver homeless in those dread years, whilst their graceful and stately mistresses and masters were dragged in the tumbril to the scaffold! Dogs suffer from the *contre-coup* of all human misfortunes; and when death or adversity breaks up a home, the dog who was happy in it is one of the first and greatest losers by the calamity.

Not long ago in Paris a poor acrobat died, unknown and unregarded except by the three dogs who had belonged to and performed with him in the streets, a greyhound, a poodle, and a water-spaniel. These three poor mourners followed his coffin to its pauper's rest, and when the earth was thrown in on him they waited about the spot mournfully until the guardian of the place chased them away; and then they quietly, with their heads and tails hung low, went back into the crowds of the great city which had no home in it all for them. What became of them? One shudders to think of the torture-trough of the physiologists which was probably their doom. I learned their story too late to be able to trace and find them. Very likely the dead man had been a brute to them; but they had loved him.

The black poodle has almost superseded the larger white poodle in the affections of society; yet the white one is incomparably the finer animal. The big white poodles of Florence are very handsome and marvellously clever; but, poor fellows! they are not "in demand," and therefore they grow rarer every year. The Pomeranian is a most charming small dog, and his high spirit and extreme intelligence make him a very valuable guard. There is an electric quality in his hair which repels dust and dirt; and in intensity of attachment he cannot be surpassed. The Italian *lupetto* is often mistaken for a Pomeranian, but there is a marked difference between them. The *lupetto* does not possess the thick, short, woolly undercoat which is the characteristic of the Pomeranian, and his hair droops, while the Pomeranian's stands out from his body. The *lupetto* is, there can be no doubt, the

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same breed of dog as was especially sacrificed in the Floralian games in classic Rome: at that time the Pomeranian was peaceably leading a wild and free life in the dread solitudes of those chilly lands in which Ovid fretted his heart out till it broke.

A very beautiful dog little known outside his country is the Siberian greyhound: of great size, with all the greyhound's elegance and swiftness, but with long silky hair, usually of a silvery whiteness or of a silvery grey, and a plumed tail like a large ostrich feather, this most graceful of all dogs is of incomparable beauty and deserves to be known on this side of the Caucasus.

The Siberian and the Persian greyhounds are one and the same breed; called *sleughi* in Persia and Arabia, and famous for being sent out to the chase alone. In speed this dog can outstrip the antelope and in tenacity he out-tires the tiger. Yet when brought into domesticity as a house-dog he is gentle and interesting, and forms a most picturesque ornament lying on a bearskin in a hall or *salon*. He has the black, melting, soft eye of the eastern, and the finest tapering muzzle, with small cocked, pendent ears. He is much larger than the European greyhound or deerhound. An exhibition of these dogs in Petersburg is a most picturesque sight, accompanied as they are by their Circassian or Persian huntsmen, and usually lying on scarlet carpet laid down to set off their contours and the silvery hue of their hair: a very different spectacle from the painful exhibitions of dog-shows in other countries.

As the German workman is everywhere in both hemispheres elbowing out the Englishman and Frenchman and American, so the Ulmhound and the dachshund are displacing the Maltese, the King Charles, the Blenheim, the water-spaniel, the Italian greyhound, and others. The Blenheim spaniel is a beautiful little dog, greatly neglected, whilst squab, unlovely Japanese, and bandy-legged basset hounds hold public favor, merely because they are something new and grotesque. All the handsome old breeds of spaniels grow rarer every day, and the ugly, short-haired German breeds, large and small, are pushed into public favor. The popularity of the dachshund, which would be inexplicable except that fashion can make fools of its followers as *Puck* of *Bottom*, has a disastrous effect on other breeds which better merit such honor, not only by the exclusion of these from happy homes, but by the influence which their deformity exercises on female dogs. The female is easily influenced through her eyes; without any contact with her,

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a dog which takes her fancy will influence the appearance of the puppies with which she is already pregnant, and the bandy legs of the dachshund are becoming terribly traceable in breeds with which he has nothing to do. Let us hope that the caprices of society will soon send him back to the earth-stopping and badger-drawing which are his natural occupations, and restore the beautiful, aristocratic, long-haired races to their proper place in hall and palace. The liking for short-haired dogs grows out of laziness; the long-haired breeds take more time to wash and comb and keep clean, and so they fall out of public favor. Yet what is more delightful in all dogdom than a Skye terrier, with his shining eyes in a mop of hair, or what more admirable in dignity and grandeur than a Newfoundland, with the snow or the sea foam on his curls?

I once owned the grandest and biggest Newfoundland in Europe. He was bigger than the Prince of Wales's then famous Cabot; he was truly a monument of beauty and of strength; and when for dinner-parties he wore a broad blue garter ribbon, he looked indeed a very king of dogs. Withal gentle as a dove, playful as a child, using his immense strength as lightly as his own seas will toy with a summer breeze; good-natured and generous to other dogs; kind to women and children; to man good-humoredly indifferent; a tireless swimmer in any seas, swimming so matchlessly that it was beautiful to watch him fighting his way through angry breakers. "All that for a dawg!" said a London rough who saw his body being laid in its coffin; and the dead dog was a grander creature than the living brute who jeered at him.

Many memories of dogs that I have loved come to me as I write —dear, kind, forgiving, and too short-lived friends! We are not grateful enough to dogs; not patient enough or generous enough; and when they give us their whole souls, we cast them grudgingly a crumb of thought.

It has often been mooted as a vexed question why all men of genius or greatness are so fond of dogs. The reason is not far to seek. Those who are great or eminent in any way find the world full of parasites, toadies, liars, fawners, hypocrites: the incorruptible candor, loyalty, and honor of the dog are to such like water in a barren place to the thirsty traveller. The sympathy of your dog is unfailing and unobtrusive. If you are sad, so is

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he; and if you are merry, none is so willing to leap and laugh with you as he. For your dog you are never poor; for your dog you are never old; whether you are in a palace or a cottage he does not care; and fall you as low as you may, you are his providence and his idol still. The attachment of the dog to man outweighs and almost obliterates attachment in him to his own race. There is something shocking to our high opinion of him in the callousness with which he will sniff at the stiff body of a brother-dog: he will follow his master to the grave, and sometimes die on it; but the loss of his own kind leaves him unmoved.

I never knew more than one exception to this: it was, however, a noteworthy one. I had two puppies of the Molussus, commonly called the Maremma, breed; large, white, very beautiful dogs, with long hair; varying in size between a Newfoundland and a collie; the old Greek race of watch-dogs to which, quite certainly, Argos belonged. These puppies, named Pan and Paris, lived together, fed, played, and slept together, and were never separated for a moment for seven months. In the seventh month Paris fell ill of distemper and died. Now, by my own observation I can declare that Pan nursed his brother as assiduously as any boy could have nursed another; licked him, cleaned him, brought him tempting bits to eat; did all that he could think of, and when his brother at last lay there cold and unresponsive to his efforts, his grief and astonishment were painful to see. From that time he ceased to play; from being a very lively dog he grew grave and sad; he had a wistful, wondering inquiry in his eyes which it was pathetic to behold; and although he lived for many years after, and was as happy as a dog can be, he never recovered his spirits: he had buried his mirth in the grave of Paris. Something was lost for him with his brother which he never regained. This is the only instance I have known of a dog's love for another dog.

It is by his attachment to man that the dog has become the victim of man's (and women's) capricious fancies. The cat, distinctly inferior to the dog, has yet by sheer force of character kept for herself an extraordinary amount of personal liberty. No power of man has been able to restrain her from making night hideous with her amorous serenades; from vagabondizing and brawling and hunting as she pleases. She is in civilization, but she is not of it; at least, is so no more than she thinks it worth

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her while to be; she will accept its satin coverlid and its saucer of milk, but with the distinct reservation that she does not surrender the fair freedom of the housetop and the barbaric joy of the mouse's nest in the hedgerow. The egotism and philosophy of her character have preserved this charter for her; and the generous, impulsive, romantic, and devoted temper of the dog has, on the contrary, hurried and harried him into captivity. The cat is capable of attachment, too; but first and foremost is that determination to have her own way which procures for every egotist so much immunity and enjoyment, and is to the temperament in which it prevails as are his horn and armor to the rhinoceros. Who thinks of muzzling the cat? of chaining her? of taxing her? Heaven forbid that any one should, poor soul! but the fact remains that it is the pliability and docility of the dog's idiosyncrasy which have made him the subject of these persecutions. Man knows that his dog will forgive him anything; and he takes advantage of that long-suffering devotion. The dog suffers frightfully from being chained; but the moment he is loosed, instead of tearing to pieces those who chained him, he is solely occupied with expressing joy and gratitude at his release.

That it ever entered into the mind of man to chain a creature so vivacious, so mercurial, and so born for freedom as the dog, can only be explained by the facility with which human sophism reconciles itself to any brutuality which it considers saves it trouble. The same diabolical selfishness which sets little children to work in factories and machine-rooms chains up the dog and leaves him to fret out his life in confinement. If legislation must meddle with dogs at all, would that it would make all muzzles and chains unlawful!

The veterinarian, Bênion, who is by no means tender to the dog, yet in his work on the "Races Canines" insists again and again on the hygienic necessity of absolute liberty for all dogs; averring that, unless they can take what exercise they like, it is impossible for them to satisfy their natural desires and wants. He speaks of the troops of dogs in Norway, in Newfoundland, and throughout the East, amongst which rabies is unknown, because, although subject to great privations, they are never deprived of their freedom, and males and females live together at their will. The muzzle, he properly declares, in preventing the dog from opening his jaws, hanging out his tongue, biting fleas, and from

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all other natural movement of his jaws, is so pernicious that no other device of human cruelty is so imbecile and so ingenious.

The famous veterinarian, Mayhew, wrote again and again in a similar sense against chains and muzzles; but prejudices die hard, and the prejudices of municipalities are tenacious and pernicious as thistles all over the world. The muzzle for dogs and the bearing-rein for horses commend themselves to men because they imagine their own safety is consulted in imposing them on the poor victims of their tyranny. Common-sense and humanity beat in vain against the closed doors of ignorance and cowardice.

The muzzle is the most ingenious, complete, and odious invention that can be conceived for obtaining the minimum of utility to the public with the maximum of torture to dogs. It torments and fevers the animal, and deprives those who own him of all pleasure in and use of him. The other day in a London police court a poor woman was arraigned for trying to drown herself; she was a victim of the "sweating system," which had made her weary of her life; a dog, passing by and seeing her drowning, had jumped in and brought her, still alive, to land. If a policeman had thus rescued her, the newspapers would have had innumerable paragraphs about his courage and humanity: the hero, being only "a passing dog," obtained no word of commendation from either journals or magistrate. Now, had this dog been impeded by a muzzle, he could not have saved the woman.

Not long ago, also in London, a retriever saved the lives of two little boys asleep in a burning house and lost his own life in going back for a third child; the newspapers did say a little in admiration of this act, but only a line or two; whereas they poured out columns of hysterical emotion over the sad fate of a nursemaid who in a London fire did as much as this dog, but no more.

I believe that the quality of a dog's affection for his human friends is but little understood or appreciated by the people who are the objects of it: sincerity and constancy, so often absent from human attachments, are its invariable characteristics. It has the profundity and the *hysterio passio* of intense emotions. When the dog is treated like a mere chattel, sold from one buyer to another, hustled from place to place, and tortured by continual severance from those he cares for, he suffers intensely, and his whole *morale* undergoes deterioration. The best managed of the so-called dogs' homes can only be a dogs' purgatory—the transi-

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tion place from happiness to hell. Strange sights, strange voices, strange beds, strange associates, are a torture to the dog to an extent which the lighter and more capricious temperament of humanity cannot comprehend. A child, if he be well fed, indulged, and caressed, is consoled with great celerity for separation from those he loves. Not so the dog. He literally prefers a dinner of herbs where love is to the stalled ox where his affections are starved.

I have a little Pomeranian who is, from age, quite blind and quite deaf; yet he is instantly aware of my presence, and follows me about with unerring accuracy; to be happy he wants nothing more than to know that I am within his reach. This great love which survives the extinction of the senses, and which sheds a radiance on him through his darkness, has certainly in it all the highest attributes of spiritual affection. It is an error to suppose that dogs love those who feed them. I never feed this little dog; and to the person who does feed him he is quite indifferent. His love is a purely spiritual and disinterested sentiment. When I stretch my hand out to him in a new glove, he is for a moment uncertain; then remembering, evidently, that gloves go to the elbow, he sniffs at the top of my arm and satisfies himself thus of my identity. His antipathies are as strong as his attachments, and when any one whom he dislikes enters his presence, he is instantly aware of it, and "goes for" his enemy with unerring accuracy. He is both deaf and blind certainly; but in virtue of that marvellous power of scent and intensity of emotion he is as active and animated as if his beautiful black eyes had light in them and his delicate pointed ears had sound. Poor little doggie, weighted with the ills that smote Milton and Beethoven! Those great men could scarcely have had a greater soul than his.

And it is this greatness of soul which makes the dog so interesting, so mysterious, and so pathetic a personality to me, associated, as it is, with the frank animation of their bodies and the sad servitude in which they are generally kept by the human beings whom they adore. About the dog there is to me something of the faun, of the forest-god, of the mingling of divinity and brutality such as met in the shape of Pan, of an earlier, fresher, wilder world than ours; and from the eyes of the dog, in their candid worship, in their wistful appeal, in their inscrutable profundity, there is an eternal and unanswerable reproach.

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THE IDEAL SUNDAY.

BY THE REV. CHARLES H. EATON, D. D.

IT IS the purpose of the writer of this article to consider the ideal Sunday, and the effect upon it of the Sunday opening of museums, art-galleries, and music-halls. It will be admitted by all that the ideal Sunday must afford rest. We may accept or deny the authority of the fourth commandment, we might even question the existence of God, and yet agree upon the necessity of making Sunday a day of rest. The teaching of the Bible and of science is identical upon this point. Rest is essential. The division into weeks, with one day in seven set apart for rest, exists throughout the world.

The Mosaic command, however it may have arisen,—as an inspiration from God, or from human observation and experience,—is not arbitrary, but natural. More and better work is done by laboring six days and resting on the seventh. In 1832 a commission was appointed by the House of Commons "to inquire into the comparative results of working seven days in the week and working six with one rest-day." The testimony of physicians, business men, and artisans was uniform: "one day in seven is thrown in as compensation to perfect the animal system." In 1853, 641 medical men in England declared: "The seventh day of rest is essential to the bodily health and mental vigor of men in every station in life."

During the Civil War Abraham Lincoln showed his usual common-sense in the issuing of an army order reducing to a minimum the Sunday labor of army and navy, because of "the importance for man and beast of a prescribed weekly rest." It is evident that, viewed from the side of economics alone, the demand that, so far as possible, Sunday shall be a day of rest from labor is justified.

But there is a higher and more conclusive reason for providing

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rest-days. It is found in the effect upon character of continuous labor. Seven days' incessant toil in every week pursued throughout the year will inevitably destroy manhood and womanhood, and reduce laborers to slavery. Leisure is as important as labor. Only by changing lines of thought and activity, by substituting home for shop, social intercourse for silent industry, the open fields for stifling factories, and rational recreation for six days of money-getting, can man preserve his health and realize for himself and his family the true end of living. When we learn that there are a million and a half wage-workers in the United States deprived of a rest-day, the importance of our subject is forced upon us. There are works of necessity which must be performed on Sunday. The more complete civilization, the larger the amount of labor required. But, so far as possible, on Sunday the wheels of industry should cease to roll, the cry of trade should be hushed, and with suspended traffic should come leisure, rest.

The ideal Sunday will also afford opportunity for mental and moral elevation. Man has not merely animal, but mental and moral, capacity; he has social instincts. Any arrangement of the days of the week which denies him opportunity to train his mind and develop his moral qualities is contrary to his highest good, and condemned both by reason and religion. Life alone justifies life. To force men and women into a prison-house by the denial of the weekly rest-day would be slowly but surely to rob humanity of its noblest instincts and powers. There is nothing sadder than to see a man or a woman converted into a machine, a burden-bearer. Hunger and cold are the hardest taskmasters. Routine makes the most miserable, as the most numerous, slaves. Homes out of which parental love has been crowded by the demands of toil; palaces of sin, the outgrowth of sensuous life, which want of leisure has fostered; individual hearts and lives, blank, selfish, or cruel, are witnesses to the need, not only of a day of rest, but to the necessity of making it a day of mental and moral awakening and refreshing.

But it is not only the poor who are coerced by the simple but inexorable demands of hunger and cold who need one day in seven for intellectual and moral cultivation. The rank and file of business men who are making the great accumulations of wealth so necessary to our civilization are also depriving themselves of the highest fruits of life. They are being unconsciously vulgar-

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ized by money-getting. The mind is narrowed so as to run in one channel alone. The wings of imagination are clipped. Conscience is weighted. Symmetry of character is sacrificed to the demands of professional and commercial life. To the poor by necessity, to the rich by choice, nature is an unknown kingdom; science, hieroglyphic; poetry, music, art, closed chambers of delights. Domestic and social joys are foreign products on which there is an embargo. Philanthropy is a necessary evil. The only thing that appeals to them is the making of money, which, when obtained, can do little to add to manhood and womanhood and the joy of living. The ideal Sunday will give men opportunity to educate themselves in science, history, and art. It will unveil nature, create friendship, nurture domestic love and social sympathy. It will stand as a constant protest against a merely material life, as a school for mental and moral training, as an inspiration to self-sacrifice and service.

Again, the ideal Sunday will be a day of worship, in which some portion of its hours will be devoted to the training and perfecting of man's spiritual instincts and powers. The spirit of worship is natural to man. The disposition to adore is a part of the structure of the soul. It is as old as the records of humanity. It will not cease until wonder and awe die out of men's hearts and the sense of the Infinite is removed. Man has real relations to an invisible world. He has a spiritual nature. He hears the call of duty. He has the capacity to know and revere God, and the power to enlarge that knowledge and reverence. Deity is found not only in the temple, but in the counting-house. He may be worshipped on the hill-side and in the grove, as well as by the chancel and in the church. But by stated or casual services by consecrated altar or under majestic mountain, on land or on sea, some seasons and places should compel thought on eternal truths and cultivate in us the sentiment of faith and love.

The supreme object in living is the creation of a perfect character. This is salvation in the Christian teaching. It involves so great an effort of will, so rare a patience, so determined a consecration, that it cannot be left to the odd moments of six days of competitive business and rapid pleasure. Sunday as a day upon which the spirit of worship is fed and trained is necessary to stimulate and refresh the feelings of reverence, obligation, gratitude, and trust in the Infinite. On the ideal Sunday, then,

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in place of the roar of trade and the clamor of gain should be heard the grand swell of organ, the chant of penitence and praise, the joyful response of old and young, exposition, exhortation, the arousing of conscience, the consecration to the service of God and man.

Not even extremists can deny that among the elements that enter into the ideal Sunday are rest, mental and moral elevation, and worship. Reason and religion unite in commendation of such a use of Sunday.

Now let us ask, In what relation does the opening of museums, music-halls, and art-galleries stand to the ideal Sunday? Does it violate the first condition, rest? So far as the wage-workers are concerned (and it is in their interest that the plea for closing is made), certainly not. Rest is not idleness, but change. The truest rest that could come to the laborer is to fill his mind with new objects of delight, to charm his eye and ear, and invigorate his will. To withdraw men from straitened circumstances and homes of want, and put them in clean, warm, and well-lighted museums, galleries of art, and music-halls, would be to give real rest to toiling millions.

There can be no objection urged against this plan because of those who are employed as care-takers and attendants. In the first place, these are few in numbers. Then they would be employed but a few hours in the day, and at a time that would not interfere with worship. In addition to this, they could enjoy another rest-day during the week. But there is even a better plan than this which a little self-sacrifice would make practicable. The rich and the well-to-do who have leisure could take the places of attendants, and perhaps give simple talks on the objects of art and history which should engage the attention of visitors. What new sympathy would result from such a mingling of classes in these institutions! How greatly it would assist in binding together the members of the family of God! How certainly it would aid in beating down suspicion, pride, and jealousy! Open these buildings at two o'clock, giving all who desire opportunity to attend morning services in places of public worship. Close all places of public amusement established as business ventures and which charge admission for private profit. Without money and without price throw open the treasure-houses of art, science, and history.

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Give also free concerts for the people, where not only "Old Hundred" and Gregorian chants shall be sung and played, but all real music. For all real music has moral significance. If such a course caused extra expense, it would be gladly defrayed by the philanthropic, and the loss of sectarian endowment would be more than compensated for in the general and popular increase of patronage and support. There are sufficient economic and social reasons for taking this position. Thus shall we best satisfy the first condition of an ideal Sunday, rest.

What would be the effect so far as the second condition, mental and moral elevation, is concerned? It is evident that right here museums open on Sunday could yield a most important influence for good. To take the laborer away from the narrow and often repellent circle of his life; to show him objects of beauty; to delight the eye with splendid color and delicate drawing; to ravish the ear with sound and tune; to invoke loyalty to country by patriotic airs; to bring tears to his eye by pathetic song or reading,—all these results are substantial gains. To stretch the horizon of a hovel to the limits of history; to turn the gaze from rags and filth to the silent and fathomless heavens dotted with stars; to forget the roar of business, and the querulous cry of sick child, and the overpowering heat of confined tenement-house, in gazing on pictures of natural scenery, cool, fresh, and free; to break up iron routine; to give food for thought and substance for dreams, is to bring about large mental and moral change. It is to quicken the imagination, train reason and memory. It is to elevate and arouse the conscience and give scope for the moral nature. Shut off the view of the poor-house with the palace of art! Drive out the hate of man with the blessed mother-look of the Madonna! In place of croaking voice, oaths, and lamenting cries, fill the air, for at least one day in the week, with ballads, secular compositions, and religious chants.

One of the signs of the growing recognition of this opportunity is the whisper that has reached our ears that the managers of a great music-hall recently dedicated will arrange for such free concerts for the people as have been suggested. All these influences made active on Sunday would break the rock in human hearts and bring forth the waters of joy and loftier life.

But will not the Sunday opening of museums interfere with worship, cut the cords of religion, and send the community adrift

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on a sea of materialism and scepticism? There are doubtless some who sincerely think this would be the result. But the fear is groundless. Such a movement would in the long run fill the churches, increase the active forces of morality and religion, and create a predisposition in favor of church and church methods that would be irresistible. The chief support of the church of Christ must be found among the masses. If the people think the church is forgetful of them or irresponsive to their needs, then the existing chasm between church-goers and non-church-goers will widen. Encourage attendance at church in the morning and open the museums in the afternoon. The museums will thus be transformed into the vestibules of churches. Let clergymen and laymen speak at gatherings in these places. Who can overestimate the beneficial results? What better pulpit than the platform of art-gallery or music-hall? What better texts than marble statue of god and hero, splendid picture, curious column from ancient days, fossil of extinct animal, and model of temple and shrine? What nobler preachers than whole-souled artists, inspired singers, musicians, reverent lovers of science? We need all these aids in the religious life. Why do we neglect them? Why discrown these spiritual kings and crucify these saviours of a darkened world?

A narrow conception of salvation is responsible for this serious error of sincere Christians. Salvation is in some sense special and peculiar. But surrender to God, the obedience of the law of righteousness and mercy, its essential element, is brought about in many ways. It may be approached from different quarters of experience. There are many and contrasted methods by which the mind and the heart are prepared for the incoming of the spirit. Many agencies are required to make the soil ready for the seeds of truth. It is evident that men can be reached only by sympathy. To give them leisure for thought and rest, to train the mind, to interest them in something above bread and butter, is to open the door through which the spiritual sentiments and the supreme passion for God enter. God is found in many ways. It has been taught that he can be found in but one way, and that our way. All places enshrine him. Not all his altars are dedicated to prayer and sermon. Rightly understood, all created things speak of and lead to God. Thus enlarging our view, we may at one time magnify the of-

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fices of the church and at the same time defend open museums, galleries of art, and music-halls as appropriate means of Sunday instruction and grace.

It is evident from a candid examination of the subject, not only that the Sunday opening of such places of rational recreation as have been described would not undermine the ideal Sunday, but that it would place it upon a surer and more permanent basis. A fair trial of such a plan as has been indicated would give opportunity for rest, mental and moral elevation, and worship to a far larger extent than at present, and completely justify the defender of larger liberty for Sunday.

CHARLES H. EATON.

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REFLECTIONS OF AN ACTRESS.

BY CLARA MORRIS.

In the morning at rehearsal an actor is like a caterpillar, plain to look upon, nibbling this leaf or that, moving slowly, laboriously, from point to point; in the afternoon, having withdrawn from the world, for rest, for thought, he is a chrysalis; while at night he flutters forth a many-tinted, broad-winged butterfly.

Yet the public are not content to watch the pretty flitting of this handsome fellow from one glowing blossom to another; they want to know upon what leaves he fed as a caterpillar, and, above all, what did he do, what did he think, while shut up *en chrysalide*.

Formerly, when theatres were few and the plays were of ancient date, with the scenes laid in foreign countries, when actors trailed about in ermine and glittered in jewels the size of pigeons' eggs, there was a certain mystery about stage people. The men stalked about in solemn silence; the women were discreetly veiled. If the beautiful young heroine of the play was the mother of a brood of little ones, no one knew it. If the arch-traitor and villain, who simply waded in gore at night, was but a kindly old body, fond of giving pennies to babies, no one knew it. But in these days of numerous theatres and of modern plays: in which actors wear the clothes of to-day,—above all, since the interviewer has been loose in the land,—the heart of our mystery has been plucked out. We are simply a body of every-day men and women who go about their business in a most business-like way.

But as there are children who are only happy with a toy while they are on a still hunt for the "squeak," so there are people who have torn their toy—the theatre—so far apart as to lay bare all its machinery,—its traps, rain-box, thunder-sheet, paper-snow machine, practical moon, etc., and yet they are not contented:

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now they turn their attention to "the squeak." Understanding perfectly the construction of that beautiful canvas and paint garden basking in the electric sunlight, they want now to know just how the butterfly got out of that dry shell, and how, oh, how, did he get his wings.

I am no butterfly—I lack the delicate marking, the softly-brilliant coloring. I am but a moth, a big, blundering good-natured moth, strong of wing and square of head, stumbling into a flower now and then. Yet, because I too have been a chrysalis, I too arouse curiosity.

But, jesting aside, I am going to try to answer two or three of the questions that are oftenest asked about my profession: it would be impossible to answer all of them. Here is number one:

"What qualities are absolutely necessary in a man or woman for the making of a successful actor?"

Ye who ask this question may be wise as serpents, but I dare not declare ye harmless as doves. It is too like a hand-grenade—quite harmless to the one who flings it, but apt to be a trifle confusing to the party who receives it. I have heard the question answered in various ways: one declared for a fine physique, another for a great voice, a quick memory, etc.; but for myself, I shall adopt the Yankee habit, and answer one question by asking another.

What professional actor or actress can equal the performance of little children playing at making calls? What animated and dramatic conversation they will hold with men and women impersonated by their fancy alone? What grace, what sincerity, what abandon? This can only be accounted for in one way: a versatile imagination is the chief faculty of children; not having realized a self-conscious being, they have no difficulty in passing into that of others. Therefore I claim that imagination is the chief quality required in the making of an actor; quick, volatile sympathies, open to external impressions. Imitative power all actors possess, and that brings me to the difference between the old school and the new,—the Kemble and the Irving. The first imitated; he followed in the beaten track; he was coldly careful, precise in gesture and tone; he respectfully copied every particle of the business of his predecessors in a play; he imitated, and, what is worse, he imitated another actor. Whom does Irving imitate? The man has neither the Kemble beauty nor the Kemble

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voice, but, good heavens! what strength of imagination! And this is backed by great energy; he is a man of affairs, keen and shrewd, a good business man; but it is his imagination that makes a brilliant actor of him, not his shrewdness.

To the new school belongs Joseph Jefferson, of whom I always think as the poet-actor. With perceptions so delicate, sympathies so keen, enthusiasm so youthful, judgment so mature, a heart so tender, and a mind so cultivated, where are we to find his equal? An actor's proudest privilege is to add something to the character the author has drawn; and we all know that out of the plenitude of his own gentleness Joseph Jefferson has humanized and made lovable the village sot drwan by Washington Irving.

I am not claiming that imagination alone will make an actor. He must have observation as well. Let him keep his eyes open and study his fellow-men. People of different temperaments will express anger in different ways. It does not take a vast experience of life or a very close observation to discover the difference between the slow, painful tears of old age and the plenteous, passionate overflow from the eyes of youth. Was there ever a gesture that could excel, in meaning and effect, the one used by Salvini in "Morte Civile" when the escaped convict shambles slowly forward and, stretching out his arm timidly, lays his finger-tips on the priest's hand, then quickly withdraws them, and with unutterable intensity presses them to his own lips? The salutation was given with such trembling, wistful deprecation as brought tears to many eyes. When I questioned Signor Salvini about it, he said: "No, I have no invent. In my country, among the poor, down-trodden peasants, you will often see that kiss: they love, but also they fear, the priest—si—si!" This beautiful gesture, then, was the result of observation.

When, some years ago, I found myself cast for the part of *Cora*, in the play "Article 47," and learned that there was a mad scene for me to act, I was alarmed. The traditional stage maniac was a combination of rolling eyes, snorty starts, and noisy declamation, sometimes ridiculous and always a bore. Therefore tradition could not help me. When Mr. Daly, with unintentional cruelty, took me aside and informed me that everything depended on just one act,—that, to quote his exact words, "the play must stand or fall by the mad scene,"—I nearly fell there and then from the fright he gave me. The following nightmare fortnight I shall

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never forget. Having learned the lines or words of my part and settled the question of the showily-rich costumes to be worn, every moment of my time was given to the study of the character Mr. Daly had intrusted to me to develop and place before his public. I regarded *Cora* as a beautiful, uneducated, half-tamed animal, a possible victim to hysteria, from the first: it was from this stand-point I made my study. But when all was done, I felt, to my dismay, a degree of uncertainty. With an anxiously exacting manager behind me and a coolly critical audience before me, to enter upon so important a task in a doubtful frame of mind was simply to court failure. For once I dared not trust to my imagination, to my sympathy. I felt I must have facts to support me, and, like the famous hook-handed captain, I must "take an observation." I then made a pilgrimage to the insane asylum on Blackwell's Island, but while there it suddenly dawned upon me that it would be a cruel and heartless act to single out for study some individual unfortunate, upon whom the hand of God was resting so heavily, and then to imitate her before a crowd of people. It would be like taking advantage of a crippled child. I felt it would be kinder and perhaps more artistic to choose two or three symptoms common to all cases of insanity, and then, by carefully presenting these general symptoms to the audience, suggest the insanity of *Cora*.

With that thought in my mind, while all the woman in me bent the head before such an aggregation of human misery, while every nerve shuddered away from the frightful sights and sounds, the actress made note of gibbering laugh, swaying body, and broken, incoherent speech. Ah me, it was dreadful! I was observing with a vengeance. Still, I had found my facts. They made a sure foundation on which to place the superstructure of imagination. I had suffered greatly from terror, hard work, and sleeplessness, but I was amply repaid; for after the first performance, not only the generous public, but my gratified manager and the very critics themselves, gave me words of praise for the work I had done, the character I had created.

It is not always easy to make one's observations. I remember that on one occasion I experienced considerable difficulty in obtaining the subject I wished to study. It was at the time that Messrs. Shook and Palmer were about to produce "Miss Multon" at the Union Square Theatre. *Miss Multon* dies, but there is in the

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whole play no word which indicates the nature of the disease which causes her death.

After due consultation the powers who were decided that the lady should die of heart-disease; a very simple matter so far as the powers were concerned, but a very difficult matter to me, who had the part to play. I knew absolutely nothing of heart-disease, nor could I find a single friend or acquaintance who could assist me. I turned to the doctor under whose care I then was, and asked his help. After some conversation he decided that *angina pectoris* was what I was looking for, as it seemed to adapt itself perfectly to the requirements of the character I described to him. He began by telling me something of the structure of the heart. He showed me some ugly pictures, too, that looked, to my eyes, like sections of ripe tomatoes with blue radishes growing through them. He taught me where my heart was located, and informed me that, in the ordinary stage gesture, when the hand seeks the heart, the aforesaid hand is something like a foot away from the sought-for organ. He minutely and repeatedly described to me the attitude and expression of one enduring, in speechless, almost breathless, agony, that awful torture called by doctors *angina pectoris*. This was to be used for the climax of the play. So far we had gone smoothly enough, but suddenly, to use a theatrical expression, the doctor "stuck." He declared his utter inability to convey to me an idea of the manner in which a patient breathes when suffering from excitement or fatigue. That was unfortunate, for it was on that symptom I most relied to indicate to the audience what was *Miss Multon's* physical condition, her eloquent language making plain her domestic woes. I begged the doctor to show me how I should breathe, but he shook his head and said, "No, no! you must see a subject." At his next visit I saw he was vexed, and pretty soon he informed me that the only heart subject he had found was a man bearded to the eyes; but, said he, while he savagely buttoned his coat: "I'll find you a subject, or that man's beard shall come off, for you must see that movement of nostril and mouth."

Not more than two hours after, there was a violent ring at the bell, and, glancing from the window and seeing the doctor's carriage, I hurried to the hall, and, looking down, saw a very cruel thing. The doctor and a woman were standing at the foot of the long, long staircase. Then he caught her by the arm, and, start-

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ing by her side, ran her up the whole long flight of stairs. Shall I ever forget that woman's face as she stood swaying, clinging to the door frame! her ghastly, waxen pallor; the strained, scared look in her eyes; the dilating nostrils; above all, the movement of the muscles about the mouth, which contracted the upper lip at every hurtling, gasping breath! The doctor pushed by her and hastily whispered: "You are a student and not well enough to attend—" I don't know whether he said class or lecture; I was only sure of the word student. So, burning with shame, I took my cue, and going forward I felt her pulse and asked her a few appropriate questions. We were alone then for a few moments, and she told me her pitifully commonplace little story. I questioned her closely as to how anger or surprise affected her, and, finding she was very poor and had a child to care for, I slipped a bill into her hand as she rose to go. She was thanking me quietly when her eyes fell upon the figure on the bill. Instantly over her neck, her face, her ears, there flamed a color so fiercely, hotly red it seemed to scorch the skin. Her very wrists, where they were bared above her gloves, were red. Her hand flew to her side in the very gesture the doctor had been teaching me. She gave a little laugh, and nervously remarked: "I—I feel so—hot and—prickly. I suppose—I'm all red! You see—it was—the surprise—that did it! Don't look so—frightened, Miss. I haven't no pain. I ain't red neither, am I, now?" Heaven knows she was not. Her very lips were white. So, with thanks and pallid smiles, the poor soul removed herself and her fell disease from my presence, and I had received my second painful object-lesson.

The night before the production of the play, in a spirit of mischief I drew up a document for the doctor to sign, in which he acknowledged that in my study of heart-disease he had been my teacher. For, said I, should the critics attack that part of my work, you will then have to share the blame. Laughingly I brought forth my document; laughingly he signed it. The critics did not attack, but I still keep the acknowledgment, and it bears the signature "E. C. Seguin."

I am not arguing that to be a good *Lady Macbeth* one should first commit a murder or look on while murder is committed; for, like many another character it can only be well acted when it is well known, and it can only be known through the imaginative sympathies.

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In a word, then, I believe that of the many qualities required for the making of a fine actor the most important are imagination, observation, and a nice judgment in adapting one's knowledge to the requirements of the stage.

The question next oftenest asked is: "What attraction has the stage for its followers, that they are so devoted to it?" Yes, we are devoted to it. We respect its antiquity; we admire the position it has gained in the world of art; we are grateful to it for our daily bread.

One of its attractions is that it may prove a short cut to popularity. Then, people of other callings transact their business amid more or less dull surroundings and turn to their homes for that which the actor finds at the theatre alone, namely, light, warmth, music, sociability. For my part, I do not believe in a "mute, inglorious Milton." I think that all power demands expression, and the employment of power is a delight. The actor who succeeds feels he pleases his public, and therein finds his own pleasure. When triumph comes to him, it is in so delightful a guise he cannot help being moved by it. When an author places his book before the public, he must wait; he learns gradually of his success. Not so the actor. His work receives instant recognition in swift, soul-satisfying applause; and what a delicious draught it is! It produces a sort of divine intoxication, that, having once experienced, one longs to repeat.

It is curious how a performer and an audience act and react upon one another. Sometimes an actor begins his work in the highest spirits, and the coldness, the unresponsiveness, of the audience completely crush him. He feels thrown back upon himself, and for the rest of the play, however painstaking he may be, he will lack naturalness and spirit. Again, an actor goes to his task in sickness, trouble, or sorrow, quite unfit for his work, but his audience gives him a warm greeting; his heart responds instantly, his spirits rise, he decides he must do his best to please these generous people; so in trying to divert them he diverts himself, and all goes well.

Through these agencies I can in a scene of anger reach the very verge of frenzy. When, after enduring through a play every conceivable humiliation any human creature can bring upon another, I am at last brought face to face with my triumphant foe, by forcing my mind to dwell on all the cruel

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wrongs thrust upon me by this individual I work myself into a state of suppressed rage that sensibly increases the beating of my heart and makes me burn all over. If my first accusing, indignant speech is followed by a sharp round of applause, the effect upon me is that of a lash from a whip to an angry horse. The blood thunders in my ears, my body vibrates under the blows of my heart; and between great earth and greater heaven I see but one face, that of my enemy, and it gleams white through a mist of red. I have forgotten that he is Mr. X. and I Miss M. Should the exigencies of the play then demand from him a sneering or contemptuous answer to my last speech, my muscles become rigid, I am held, possessed, tormented by one intense desire—to close my hands about his throat and clench, and clench, until I may stand in that red mist alone. I am neither actress nor woman, but for just that one hot, furious moment I am *murder*. So, between the imagination and the excitement of applause, the deed is done. I forget myself, and pass into another form of being.

But my time and the space of THE REVIEW is exhausted, and the remainder of the questions, such as the temptations, frights, drolleries, of the stage, must wait.

CLARA MORRIS.

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HAÏTI AND THE UNITED STATES.

INSIDE HISTORY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE MÔLE ST. NICOLAS.

BY THE HON. FREDERICK DOUGLASS, LATE UNITED STATES MINISTER TO HAÏTI.

I.

I PROPOSE to make a plain statement regarding my connection with the late negotiations with the government of Haïti for a United States naval station at the Môle St. Nicolas. Such a statement seems required, not only as a personal vindication from undeserved censure, but as due to the truth of history. Recognizing my duty to be silent while the question of the Môle was pending, I refrained from making any formal reply to the many misstatements and misrepresentations which have burdened the public press unchallenged during the last six months. I have, however, long intended to correct some of the grosser errors contained in these misrepresentations, should the time ever come when I could do so without exposing myself to the charge of undue sensitiveness and without detriment to the public interest. That time has now come, and there is no ground of sentiment, reason, or propriety for a longer silence, especially since, through no fault of mine, the secrets of the negotiations in question have already been paraded before the public, apparently with no other purpose than to make me responsible for their failure.

There are many reasons why I would be gladly excused from appearing before the public in the attitude of self-defence. But while there are times when such defence is a privilege to be exercised or omitted at the pleasure of the party assailed, there are other times and circumstances when it becomes a duty which cannot be omitted without the imputation of cowardice or of conscious guilt. This is especially true in a case where the charges vitally affect one's standing with the people and govern-

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ment of one's country. In such a case a man must defend himself, if only to demonstrate his fitness to defend anything else. In discharging this duty I shall acknowledge no favoritism to men in high places, no restraint but candor, and no limitation but truth. It is easy to whip a man when his hands are tied. It required little courage for these men of war to assail me while I was in office and known to be forbidden by its rules to write or to speak in my own defence: they had everything their own way.

Perhaps it was thought that I lacked the spirit or the ability to reply. On no other ground of assurance could there have been such loose and reckless disregard of easily-ascertained facts to contradict them. It is also obvious that the respectability of the public journals, rather than the credibility of the writers themselves, was relied upon to give effect to their statements. Had they disclosed their names and their true addresses, the public could have easily divined a motive which would have rendered unnecessary any word of mine in self-defence. It would have become evident, in that case, that there was a premeditated attempt to make me a scapegoat to bear off the sins of others. It may be noted, too, that prompt advantage has been taken of the fact that falsehood is not easily exposed when it has had an early start in advance of truth. As mindful of some things as they were, however, they forgot that innocence needs no defence until it is accused.

The charge is that I have been the means of defeating the acquisition of an important United States naval station at the Môle St. Nicolas. It is said, in general terms, that I wasted the whole of my first year in Haïti in needless parley and delay, and finally reduced the chances of getting the Môle to such a narrow margin as to make it necessary for our government to appoint Rear-Admiral Gherardi as a special commissioner to Haïti to take the whole matter of negotiation for the Môle out of my hands. One of the charitable apologies they are pleased to make for my failure is my color; and the implication is that a white man would have succeeded where I failed. This color argument is not new. It besieged the White House before I was appointed minister-resident and consul-general to Haïti. At once and all along the line the contention was then raised that no man with African blood in his veins should be sent as minister to the black republic. White men professed to speak in the

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interest of black Haïti ; and I could have applauded their alacrity in upholding her dignity if I could have respected their sincerity. They thought it monstrous to compel black Haïti to receive a minister as black as herself. They did not see that it would be shockingly inconsistent for Haïti to object to a black minister while she herself is black.

Prejudice sets all logic at defiance. It takes no account of reason or consistency. One of the duties of a minister in a foreign land is to cultivate good social as well as civil relations with the people and government to which he is sent. Would an American white man, imbued with our national sentiments, be more likely than an American colored man to cultivate such relations ? Would his American contempt for the colored race at home fit him to win the respect and good-will of colored people abroad ? Or would he play the hypocrite and pretend to love negroes in Haïti when he is known to hate negroes in the United States ?—aye, so bitterly that he hates to see them occupy even the comparatively humble position of consul-general to Haïti. Would not the contempt and disgust of Haïti repel such a sham ?

Haïti is no stranger to Americans or to American prejudice. Our white fellow-countrymen have taken little pains to conceal their sentiments. This objection to my color and this demand for a white man to succeed me spring from the very feeling which Haïti herself contradicts and detests. I defy any man to prove, by any word or act of the Haïtien Government, that I was less respected at the capital of Haïti than was any white minister or consul. This clamor for a white minister for Haïti is based upon the idea that a white man is held in higher esteem by her than is a black man, and that he can get more out of her than can one of her own color. It is not so, and the whole free history of Haïti proves it not to be so. Even if it were true that a white man could, by reason of his alleged superiority, gain something extra from the servility of Haïti, it would be the height of meanness for a great nation like the United States to take advantage of such servility on the part of a weak nation. The American people are too great to be small, and they should ask nothing of Haïti on grounds less just and reasonable than those upon which they would ask anything of France or England. Is the weakness of a nation a reason for our robbing it ? Are we to take advantage, not only of its weakness, but of its fears ? Are

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we to wring from it by dread of our power what we cannot obtain by appeals to its justice and reason? If this is the policy of this great nation, I own that my assailants were right when they said that I was not the man to represent the United States in Haïti.

I am charged with sympathy for Haïti. I am not ashamed of that charge; but no man can say with truth that my sympathy with Haïti stood between me and any honorable duty that I owed to the United States or to any citizen of the United States.

The attempt has been made to prove me indifferent to the acquisition of a naval station in Haïti, and unable to grasp the importance to American commerce and to American influence of such a station in the Caribbean Sea. The fact is that when some of these writers were in their petticoats I had comprehended the value of such an acquisition, both in respect to American commerce and to American influence. The policy of obtaining such a station is not new. I supported General Grant's ideas on this subject against the powerful opposition of my honored and revered friend Charles Sumner, more than twenty years ago, and proclaimed it on a hundred platforms and to thousands of my fellow-citizens. I said then that it was a shame to American statesmanship that, while almost every other great nation in the world had secured a foothold and had power in the Caribbean Sea, where it could anchor in its own bays and moor in its own harbors, we, who stood at the very gate of that sea, had there no anchoring-ground anywhere. I was for the acquisition of Samana, and of Santo Domingo herself if she wished to come to us. While slavery existed I was opposed to all schemes for the extension of American power and influence. But since its abolition I have gone with him who goes farthest for such extension.

But the pivotal and fundamental charge made by my accusers is that I wasted a whole year in fruitless negotiations for a coaling-station at the Môle St. Nicolas and allowed favorable opportunities for obtaining it to pass unimproved, so that it was necessary at last for the United States Government to take the matter out of my hands and send a special commissioner to Haïti, in the person of Rear-Admiral Gherardi, to negotiate for the Môle. A statement more false than this never dropped from lips or pen. I here and now declare, without hesitation or qualification or fear of contradiction, that there is not one word of truth in this charge. If I do not in this state the truth, I may be easily con-

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tradicted and put to open shame. I therefore affirm that at no time during the first year of my residence in Haïti was I charged with the duty or invested with any authority by the President of the United States, or by the Secretary of State, to negotiate with Haïti for a United States naval station at the Môle St. Nicolas or anywhere else in that country. Where no duty was imposed no duty was neglected. It is not for a diplomat to run before he is sent, especially in matters involving large consequences like those implied in extending our power into a neighboring country.

Here, then, let me present the plain facts in the case. They, better than anything else I can say, vindicate my conduct in connection with this question.

On the 26th of January, 1891, Rear-Admiral Gherardi, having arrived at Port au Prince, sent one of his under-officers on shore to the United States Legation to invite me on board his flagship, the "Philadelphia." I complied with the invitation, although I knew that, in strict politeness, it would have been more appropriate for Admiral Gherardi himself to come to me. I felt disinclined, however, to stand upon ceremony or to endeavor to correct the manners of an American admiral. Having long since decided to my own satisfaction that no expression of American prejudice or slight on account of my color could diminish my self-respect or disturb my equanimity, I went on board as requested, and there for the first time learned that I was to have some connection with negotiations for a United States coaling-station at the Môle St. Nicolas, and this information was imparted to me by Rear-Admiral Gherardi. He told me in his peculiarly emphatic manner that he had been duly appointed a United States special commissioner; that his mission was to obtain a naval station at the Môle St. Nicolas; and that it was the wish of Mr. Blaine and of Mr. Tracy, and also of the President of the United States, that I should earnestly coöperate with him in accomplishing this object. He further made me fully acquainted with the dignity of his position, and I was not slow in recognizing it.

In reality, some time before the arrival of Admiral Gherardi on this diplomatic scene, I was made acquainted with the fact of his appointment. There was at Port au Prince an individual, of whom we shall hear more elsewhere, acting as agent of a distin-

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guished firm in New York, who appeared to be more fully initiated into the secrets of the State Department at Washington than I was, and who knew, or said he knew, all about the appointment of Admiral Gherardi, whose arrival he diligently heralded in advance and carefully made public in all the political and business circles to which he had access. He stated that I was discredited at Washington, had, in fact, been suspended and recalled, and that Admiral Gherardi had been duly commissioned to take my place. This news was sudden and far from flattering. It is unnecessary to say that it placed me in an unenviable position both before the community of Port au Prince and before the government of Haïti. It had, however, the advantage, so far as I was able to believe anything so anomalous, of preparing me for the advent of my successor, and of softening the shock of my fall from my high estate. My connection with this negotiation, as all may see, was very humble, secondary, and subordinate. The glory of success or the shame of defeat was to belong to the new minister. I was made subject to the commissioner. This was not quite so bad as the New York agent had prepared me to expect, but it was not what I thought I deserved and what my position as minister called for at the hands of my government. Strangely enough, all of my instructions concerning the Môle came to me through my newly-constituted superior. He was fresh from the face of our Secretary of State, knew his most secret intentions and the wants and wishes of the government, and I, naturally enough, received the law from his lips.

The situation suggested the resignation of my office as due to my honor; but reflection soon convinced me that such a course would subject me to a misconstruction more hurtful than any censure which, in the circumstances, could justly arise from remaining at my post. The government had decided that a special commissioner was needed in Haïti. No charges were brought against me, and it was not for me to set up my wisdom or my resentment as a safer rule of action than that prescribed by the wisdom of my government. Besides, I did not propose to be pushed out of office in this way. I therefore resolved to coöperate with the special commissioner in good faith and in all earnestness, and did so to the best of my ability.

It was first necessary, in furtherance of the mission of Ad-

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miral Gherardi, to obtain for him as early as possible an interview with Mr. Firmin, the Haïtien Minister of Foreign Affairs, and with His Excellency Florvil Hyppolite, the President of Haïti. This, by reason of my position as minister and my good relations with the government of Haïti, I accomplished only two days after the arrival of the admiral. Not even my accusers can charge me with tardiness in obeying in this, or in anything else, the orders of my superior. In acting under him I had put aside the fact of the awkward position in which the officious agent had placed me, and the still more galling fact that the instructions I received had not reached me from the State Department in the usual and appropriate way, as also the fact that I had been in some degree subjected to the authority of an officer who had not, like myself, been duly appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate of the United States, and yet one whose name and bearing proclaimed him practically the man having full command. Neither did I allow anything like a feeling of offended dignity to diminish my zeal and alacrity in carrying out his instructions. I consoled myself with the thought that I was acting like a good soldier, promptly and faithfully executing the orders of my superior, and obeying the will of my government. Our first conference with President Hyppolite and his Foreign Secretary was held at the palace at Port au Prince on the 28th of January, 1891. At this conference, which was, in fact, the real beginning of the negotiations for the Môle St. Nicolas, the wishes of our government were made known to the government of Haïti by Rear-Admiral Gherardi; and I must do him the justice to say that he stated the case with force and ability. If anything was omitted or insisted upon calculated to defeat the object in view, this defect must be looked for in the admiral's address, for he was the principal speaker, as he was also the principal negotiator.

Admiral Gherardi based our claim for this concession upon the ground of services rendered by the United States to the Hyppolite revolution. He claimed it also on the ground of promises made to our government by Hyppolite and Firmin through their agents while the revolution was in progress, and affirmed that but for the support of our government the revolution would have failed. I supplemented his remarks, not in opposition to his views, but with the intention of impressing the government of Haïti with the idea that the concession asked for was in the line

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of good neighborhood and advanced civilization, and in every way consistent with the autonomy of Haïti; urging that the concession would be a source of strength rather than of weakness to the Haïtien government; that national isolation was a policy of the past; that the necessity for it in Haïti, for which there was an apology at the commencement of her existence, no longer exists; that her relation to the world and that of the world to her are not what they were when her independence was achieved; that her true policy now is to touch the world at all points that make for civilization and commerce; and that, instead of asking in alarm what will happen if a naval station be conceded to the United States, it should ask, "What will happen if such a naval station be not conceded?" I insisted that there was far more danger to be apprehended to the stability of the existing government from allowing the rumor to float in the air that it was about to sell out the country than by granting the lease of the Môle and letting the country know precisely what had been done and the reasons in the premises for the same; that a fact accomplished carries with it a power to promote acquiescence; and I besought them to meet the question with courage.

In replying to us Mr. Firmin demanded to know on which of the two grounds we based our claim for the possession of this naval station. If it were demanded, he said, upon any pledge made by President Hyppolite and himself, he denied the existence of any such promise or pledge, and insisted that, while the offer of certain advantages had been made to our government, the government at Washington had not at the time accepted them. The letter in proof of the different view was, he said, only a copy of the original letter, and the original letter was never accepted by the American Government.

This position of Mr. Firmin's was resisted by Admiral Gherardi, who contended with much force that, while there was no formal agreement consummated between the two governments, Haïti was nevertheless morally bound, since the assistance for which she asked had made Hyppolite President of Haïti. Without intending to break the force of the admiral's contention at this point, I plainly saw the indefensible attitude in which he was placing the government of the United States in representing our government as interfering by its navy with the affairs of a neighboring country, covertly assisting in putting down one government

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and setting up another; and I therefore adhered to the grounds upon which I based our demand for a coaling-station at the Môle I spoke in the interest and in support of the honor of the United States. It did not strike me that what was claimed by Admiral Gherardi to have been done—though I did not say as much—is the work for which the United States navy is armed, equipped, manned. and supported by the American people. It was alleged that, though our government did not authorize Rear-Admiral Gherardi to overthrow Légitime and to set up Hyppolite as President of Haïti, it gave him the *wink*, and left him to assume the responsibility. I did not accept this as a foundation upon which I could base my diplomacy. If this was a blunder on my part, it was a blunder of which I am not ashamed, and it was committed in the interest of my country.

At the close of this conference we were asked by Mr. Firmin to put into writing our request for the Môle, and the terms upon which we asked its concession. What followed will be told hereafter.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

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IS DRUNKENNESS CURABLE?

BY DR. WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, DR. T. D. CROTHERS, DR. ELON N. CARPENTER, AND DR. CYRUS EDSON.

DR. HAMMOND:

IT MAY be stated with perfect confidence in the absolute correctness of the assertion that there is no medicine or combination of medicines that will cure a person of the habit of drunkenness—that is, that will destroy his or her habit or appetite for alcoholic liquors. It may be incidentally stated with equal positiveness that there is no habit, whether of chloral, opium, hashish, or any other intoxicating substance, that can be cured by medicine; and, even further, that there is no habit or appetite whatever to which mankind is subject that can be got rid of by drugs, whether it be drinking coffee, or smoking tobacco, or taking a walk every day at a particular hour, or going to bed at a certain time. Appetites and habits are not under the control of medicines: nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the habit of drunkenness is curable, and that the appetite for alcohol can be abolished.

In order to demonstrate these facts it will be necessary to state, first, what the desire for alcoholic liquors is, and, secondly, how it may be cured.

Most persons get drunk because they want to; others because they cannot help it with the means of combating their inclination which are at their disposal.

Now, in regard to the first class,—those who get drunk because they want to,—there are several motives which prompt them to excessive indulgence in alcohol. By lessening the nervous impressibility of the individual it diminishes any painful impression, mental or physical, of which he may be the subject; it drowns his sorrows and eases his pains. Besides these effects, by stimulating certain portions of his brain it, in many cases, at

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first arouses pleasurable emotions before the stage of stupor or utter forgetfulness is reached; though every one knows that in many cases it produces a state of frenzy or prompts to acts of violence. These people get drunk every day, for the habit becomes established in them, and habits when well fixed in the system are very difficult to eradicate. Still, they may be cured, and it is well if they can be cured before not only the habit has become confirmed, but before an appetite has been aroused which is quite as difficult to subdue.

A person, for instance, is induced to smoke a cigar after dinner. The inducement, whatever it may be, constitutes the impression made upon the brain. The persuasion of a friend, the desire to be sociable, or the idea that smoking would be beneficial to the health prompts to the performance of the act, and the cigar is smoked. It is repeated for similar reasons, until at last the act of repetition begins to exercise its effect, and the original incentive is lost sight of in the more powerful one which has taken its place. A habit has been fully formed; an appetite has been created; and neither can be broken without violence to both mind and body. The oft-repeated impression has left its traces somewhere each time, until at last it assumes a local habitation and becomes permanently fixed in the organism, not to be lost except through some more powerful influence acting in a manner similar to the first.

What is true of tobacco is even more true of alcohol, for the effects resulting from this agent are more powerful than those that ensue from the use of tobacco; and hence its influence in causing a habit or arousing an appetite is more difficult of eradication.

Next, in regard to those who drink because they cannot, with their then existing means of control, prevent the indulgence—an indulgence which they know is injurious to them and from which they honestly endeavor to abstain. A great many of these people have the proclivity to the excessive use of alcohol born in them, and, aware of this fact, they sometimes imagine that it is useless for them to try to overcome the fatal inclination. This inclination may come upon them spontaneously, without there being any love for alcohol, either for its taste or for its effects, and act with a force which it appears to them they are powerless to resist. Even in regard to substances which produce no very

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marked effects upon the system, a habit may be aroused through this influence of hereditary tendency.

Thus, a gentleman informed me that his grandfather had become accustomed to wake up from sound sleep at twelve o'clock every night and drink a cup of tea, after which he would lie down and sleep quietly till morning. The father of my informant was a posthumous son, and his mother died in childbirth with him. He was English, and at an early age went to India with an uncle. One night, when he was about twenty years of age, he awoke suddenly with an intense desire for a cup of tea. He endeavored to overcome the longing, but finally, being unable to sleep, got up, and, proceeding to an adjoining room, made himself a cup of tea, and then, going back to bed, soon fell asleep. He did not mention the circumstance at that time; in fact, it made no strong impression on his mind; but the next night the awaking, the desire, and the tea-making were repeated. At breakfast the following morning he alluded to the fact that he had twice been obliged to rise in the middle of the night and make himself a cup of tea, and laughingly suggested that perhaps it would be as well for him in future to have the materials in his bedroom. His uncle listened attentively, and, when the recital was finished, said:

"Yes, have everything ready, for you will want your tea every night; your father took it at midnight for over twenty years, and you are like him in everything."

The uncle was right; the midnight tea-drinking became a settled habit. Several years afterward the gentleman returned to England and there married. Of this marriage a son—my informant—was born, and six years subsequently the father died. The boy was sent to school till he was sixteen years old, when he was sent to Amsterdam as a clerk in the counting-house of his mother's brother, a banker of that city. He was kept pretty actively at work, and one night in particular did not get to bed till after twelve o'clock. Just as he was about to lie down the idea struck him that a cup of tea would be a good thing. All the servants had retired; so the only thing to do was to make it himself. He did so, and then went to bed. The next night he again had his tea, and after that took it regularly, waking from sleep punctually for that purpose at twelve o'clock. Up to that time he had never been a tea-drinker, though he had occasionally tasted tea. Writing home to his mother, he informed her that he had taken to the

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custom of drinking tea, but had acquired the habit of taking it at a very inconvenient hour—twelve o'clock at night. She replied, telling him that he had come honestly by his liking, for his father and grandfather had had exactly the same habit. Previous to the reception of this letter he had never heard of the peculiarity of his father and grandfather.

Any sensible person, whether physician or layman, will see at once that such a habit as this is not within the range of cure by medicine. And if the comparatively innocent habit of drinking tea at inconvenient hours is not, why the still more imperious habit of drinking alcohol? But, though not curable by medical means, the alcoholic habit is curable, and there are three ways by which it can be overcome.

First, by absolutely stopping the manufacture, importation, and sale of alcoholic liquors.

Second, by putting the person in whom it is desired to stop the habit under such restraint or into such utter seclusion that he cannot by any possibility get liquors.

Third, by instructing him fully in regard to the injurious effects of alcohol upon his system, and, by superior mental influence, so strengthening his will-power as to enable him to resist temptation.

In regard to the first means mentioned, it is probably altogether impossible of accomplishment, even if it is desirable that the presence of alcohol upon the earth should be abolished in order that a comparatively few persons, not by any means the most valuable citizens, should be cured of drunkenness. It is well known that such prohibitory laws as legislatures enact do not essentially interfere with the use of alcohol by the more worthless portion of the community, who will get it at all hazards, while they materially lessen the comfort of those persons who take their glass of wine or mug of beer in all sobriety, and who are benefited by this decent use of stimulants. Nevertheless, it is quite certain that the sale of alcoholic liquors should be regulated by the state, and that much may be done to prevent drunkenness by such wise interference; by requiring a high-license fee and such strict police supervision as will not only insure the purity of liquors, but will prevent their sale by improper persons. The total abolition of alcohol from the earth would, as I have said, be invariably curative of the habit of drunkenness, but it is a thera-

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peutical means so utterly beyond the reach of any earthly potentate or power that we may dismiss it from further consideration.

Secondly, in regard to the sequestration of the drunkard. This is entirely within our means of accomplishment, and must form, in the majority of cases, the chief means for the treatment of the habitual drunkard, or the one who drinks spasmodically. The gentlemen who were in the habit of getting up in the night to take tea could have been cured of this habit by such physical restraint, continued for a sufficiently long period to break the force of the power of iteration. We are all conscious of the fact that some one or more of our habits have been broken up when they have become physically impossible of repetition. And this is true not only of habits, but of appetites as well. The longer we abstain from any particular habit, the less powerful becomes the inclination to indulge, and after a period varying according to circumstances, or the organism of the individual, the excitation is no longer experienced.

It must be understood that, after persons have been in the habit for a long period of over-indulgence in the use of alcoholic liquors, the system becomes habituated to their use; and when they are stopped many disagreeable and even painful sensations are experienced. Little by little, however, if abstinence is continued, these become less strongly felt, and they eventually disappear.

There are many ways in which this physical prohibition can be effected. The person against whom it is directed may, in mild cases, be allowed to go at large accompanied by a faithful attendant, or he may, if a high-minded and honorable man, even be trusted to his honor after he has made a promise not to drink. Cases of this kind are not often met with; still they do occur. Or the victim may be subjected to actual imprisonment, either in an inebriate asylum, a hospital, or a jail; the latter, however, proving by far the most effectual, as it is much more difficult to smuggle liquor into a jail than into either of the other places; or the restraint may be accomplished by drugs, such as opium or other narcotics which so stupefy the patient that he is never conscious enough to exercise a habit or gratify an appetite. Of course this is no more curative than would be the production of the same effect by a severe blow on the head, and is, altogether, a method of treatment which, in my opinion, is perfectly unjus-

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tifiable. Such treatment cannot be continued sufficiently long to prove of any benefit. In fact, it is never successful, and there is always the risk of making one habit take the place of another.

Still, even after physical restraint has been faithfully persevered in for long periods, many of those who have been subjected to it resume the habit of getting drunk soon after they are set at liberty. They do this simply because they want to. Drunkenness is a mode of enjoyment for them. They either do no, believe it to be injurious or, if so believing, they drink and knowingly take the consequences.

Not long ago a patient said to me: "Doctor, you may lock me up and surround me by guards when I go out, and you may advise me as much as you please, and you may continue this system of treatment for ten years or more; and when you stop it and I pass from under your charge, I will get drunk. I shall do so because I like to get drunk. I am a free citizen of this country, and I have a right to get drunk if I wish to do so."

In this connection it may be stated that many persons continue to drink to excess because they believe they have a moral right to do so if they choose; and they feel that it is an outrage upon their personal liberty to subject them to restraint.

As to moral suasion, the third of our means of cure, it is mainly successful with those unfortunate but intelligent persons who strongly desire to be cured. It is with these that the advice of a physician in whom they have confidence, the encouragement that he is able to give them, and his charity towards their failings which his knowledge of human nature gives him, prove most successful. These are the patients to whose honor we can trust with the most confidence, and these are the ones who are most generally cured.

Now, I am not to be understood as saying that medical treatment is to be altogether neglected. Certain tonics and sedatives are required in the course of treatment, to overcome conditions that may be produced in the system of the habitual drunkard when his customary stimulus has been taken away; but as to the specific influence of the nitrate of strychnia, which has had its day, and the double chloride of gold and sodium, which is now being palmed off on the public as a certain cure for drunkenness, I have only to say that their use in such a connection is most irrational, unscientific, and delusive. Almost every drunkard can

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abstain for a time, more or less long, by the mere effort of a very weak will, and actuated by a desire to think that he has got something to cure him. But I venture to say that there is not one single case of a cure by either of these agents, or any other agent, by the unaided power of the drug. Strychnia or gold or almost anything else will, when used in the case of sensible persons who sincerely desire to be cured, and who are imbued with confidence in the physician, prove efficacious. I have cured patients with a daily hypodermic injection of a few drops of water, combined with the influence or mental predominance which I happened to have over them. But that there is any antidotal power in the chloride of gold, or any other drug, is the purest kind of fiction. I have used the chloride of gold hypodermically in my practice for many years, and I have never witnessed a single case in which it abolished the taste for alcoholic liquor. Neither do I believe that there is any such case in existence.

This is all I have to say on the subject, although there is one means of cure not yet sufficiently tried, but of which the therapeutical promise appears to be good; and that is hypnotism. There are cases on record in which it is said to have been effectual, but I have none such within my own experience. I have, however, cured two cases of the opium habit by employing it. Its range of usefulness is, unfortunately, not large, for comparatively few persons are subject to its influence.

WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D.

DR. CROTHERS:

ANY satisfactory or reliable answer to the question, Is drunkenness curable? must come from a scientific study of the nature and character of drunkenness. Fortunately, recent advances of science have furnished many facts and data by which to determine this question apart from personal opinions and theories.

A very curious chapter of psychological literature could be written on the popular theories of the day concerning drunkenness and its curability. Thus, persons who believe inebriety to be a vice and sin are confident that conversion will cure every one. Many so-called gospel-temperance advocates claim to have cured thousands of inebriates, and assert with great emphasis that

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the grace of God, through a change of heart, will make sober men of all such persons in all conditions of life. Another class believe drunkenness to result from weak will-power, with absence of plan and purpose in life, the great remedy of which is the pledge. The old Washingtonian revival, the Father Matthew movement, and the blue- and red-ribbon revival waves are illustrations of the practical application of this theory. The most wonderful success in the cure of drunkards is claimed by the adherents of this method of treatment.

Many persons proclaim that drunkenness is always due to a wilful criminal impulse, which can only be cured by punishment and suffering. They would have laws for more severe punishment, establish the whipping-post, confine drunkards in dungeons, in irons and on bread and water, and, finally, use capital punishment. Curiously, the believers in this theory cite examples of its practical value in the cure of many cases.

It is clear to many people that the prohibition of alcohol will cure drunkenness effectually. Others assert that drunkenness is a mere stomach trouble, and that specific drugs will destroy the appetite; also that, by treating this appetite to excess of spirits in everything used, a permanent repugnance can be created. A large number of cures are said to be made by these methods.

The drug-specific treatment is now quite prominent, but, as in many other matters, the results are subjects of faith rather than of demonstration.

These and other theories are proclaimed from the pulpit and platform, and even in the court-room, and are scattered broadcast in journals, tracts, and books; and yet all competent authorities agree that drunkenness is increasing. Some reasons for this are apparent in the legal method of curing drunkenness. Fines and short imprisonments, supposed to stop all further use of spirits, produce the opposite effect, and intensify all the conditions which impel the drunkard to drink. Statistics show beyond doubt that the station-houses and jails are more dangerous and destructive than the saloons, and that 98 per cent. of all inebriates who are punished for the first time by fine and imprisonment are re-arrested for the same offence continually until death. There is a grim irony in the method of cure that makes recovery more and more impossible, and finally completely destroys the victim. Evidently as long as the drunkard is regarded from the moral side

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alone (and judged by the theories urged a thousand years ago in explanation of his condition), his curability will be doubtful and exceptional.

Another very curious chapter might be written on the spasmodic efforts, through parties, societies, and agitations, to rouse the public to use certain curative measures for drunkenness. The literature of these movements is the strangest compound of errors and misconceptions that are repeated without a question or doubt of their reality. Take the established facts concerning alcohol: they could all be put on a single page; and yet over two hundred volumes and pamphlets have been written on this topic, and these do not include all. A dozen different text books are published to teach the action of alcohol to schoolchildren. Hence it is almost impossible from any comparison of theory and practice to form any conclusions as to the actual curability of drunkenness.

The scientific student must begin his inquiries without support from present knowledge, and aside from this mass of opinion and theory. He must approach the subject entirely from the physical side, and seek to ascertain what drunkenness is, its causes and character, and why alcohol or other narcotics are used so excessively, and beyond all limits of reason and self-preservation. When these facts are understood, the question of curability can be answered. The scientific method to be pursued in this study is the same as in all other physical problems. First, gather and tabulate the histories of a large number of inebriates; then make comparative studies of these records, and ascertain what facts, if any, are common to all of them. The history, beginning with the individual, should extend back to his parents and grandparents; giving accurate details of all family diseases and accidents, and diseases which have appeared in different members of the family; also their habits of living and occupation; their successes and failures in life; their character, conduct, surroundings, and longevity. To this add the history of the collateral branches and near relatives up to the present. Then, coming to the individual, record all the facts of his birth and the condition of his parents prior to his birth; his early childhood, diet, diseases, and occupation, and the culture and care received; also all the accidents, diseases, nerve and muscle strains, shocks, and failures, his surroundings, and all the facts of his life up to the onset of

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his drink-history; the circumstances attending the first use of spirits and the effect upon him; his habits and mode of living, together with all the circumstances of his diet, condition of life, and its failures and successes; the effects of alcohol and its influence over his daily life, and all the other facts of his history.

While accuracy as to many of these statements may be difficult to secure, certain general principles will appear, which must have been followed or preceded by certain minor facts, either known or unknown. The more exhaustive these facts are, the more accurate the conclusions. From a grouping of a large number of such histories a startling uniformity in the causation, development, and termination appears. Literally the same causes, the same surroundings and conditions, appear in nearly every case. To illustrate, heredity as a causation appears in over 60 per cent. of all inebriates. The parents and grandparents have been continuous or excessive users of spirits, or have been insane or mentally defective, or have been consumptive, or had rheumatism, gout, or some other profound constitutional disease before the birth of the child. These physical states have been transmitted, and burst into activity from exposure to some peculiar exciting cause. In 20 per cent. there will be found the same history of disease and injury preceding the use of spirits. Thus, blows on the head, sunstrokes, railroad accidents, and injuries which have caused stupor or periods of unconsciousness; or profound wasting diseases, from which recovery has followed, and with it the use of spirits, which sooner or later developed into drunkenness; mental shocks from grief and joy or other profound emotional strains, are often followed by intense craving and drunkenness. Ten per cent. will give a clear history of brain- and nerve-exhaustion preceding the inebriety. In 5 per cent. bad sanitary surroundings, bad living and diet, have been the exciting causes; and in a small percentage the causes are obscure and unknown. These are some of the most prominent facts appearing from a comparison of the histories of a large number of cases. Many of the causes are combined in one, such as heredity, bad surroundings, brain-exhaustion, or brain-injury. In some cases old heredities appear in the second generation, or peculiar nerve-injuries that develop into inebriety.

Another fact appears from these histories equally startling, viz., the uniformity of the progress and march of each case. A

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certain progressive movement is noted along a uniform line of events that can be anticipated and predicted. Halts, diversions, and apparently retrograde marches may occur, but the large majority of all drunkards begin at a certain point, and march down the same road, and cross the same bridges, and arrive at the same termination. To find where the case started and where it is at present is to find accurate data from which to predict the future with much certainty.

Drunkenness often takes on the form of periodicity, in which the use of spirits occurs at distinct intervals. These drink-storms, like epilepsy, are followed by a free interval of health and sobriety. During this free interval the victims display mental vigor and great resistance to all exciting causes, then suddenly relapse, and use spirits to excess for a fixed time, and recover. Such cases exhibit a strange cycle-like movement, coming and going at exact intervals that are uninfluenced by circumstances or conditions. Some are solitary midnight drinkers; others only drink at certain places and at certain times and seasons. Many curious and fascinating facts that are not understood appear in the history of this class, and suggest a range of causes yet to be studied.

Such are some of the general facts which are found to be uniformly present in most cases, and which indicate beyond question that drunkenness is a disease. The mental degeneration and obscure forms of psychical disturbances, associated with a craving for spirits that dominates every consideration of life, point to a form of insanity in which both the brain and nervous system appear to suffer from paralysis and exhaustion. The use of spirits may cause the paralysis and favor the exhaustion which proceeds from it. Intoxication exhibits in a concentrated form the common types of insanity, mania, melancholia, and dementia in a brief time. The injury from these states must be very great, and the inference that the demand for spirits is often a symptom and not the disease is amply confirmed.

From these and many other facts the curability of drunkenness becomes a question of the application of scientific measures and means to conduct or assist the case back to health again. The condition to treat is that of progressive brain- and nerve-exhaustion, lowered vitality, with damaged and perverted functional activities. The removal of alcohol does not remove the disease, but only one exciting or predisposing cause. Jails isolate the

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drunkard and prevent him from procuring spirits, but experience shows that forced abstinence alone always intensifies the drink-impulse and increases the incurable condition. Something more is required. Enthusiastic appeals to the emotional powers and will are not curative, because the emotions and will are diseased; the higher moral faculties are perverted and cannot act normally. The drunkard has been switched off the main line of healthy life and living upon the side-track of progressive dissolution, the opposite of evolution. The question is, What means and appliances can bring him back to the main line of health? can the will-power, or prayer, or any specific drugs, or appeals, or threats do it? are there any agents along the line of the marvellous, or any miracles, that will save the drunkards?

The laws of dissolution are as fixed and certain as those of evolution, and the change from one to the other must be along the lines of physical laws and forces, that move without a shade or shadow of turning. The curability follows from the application of certain general principles, the first of which is isolation and change of surroundings. The drunkard must go into a quarantine, where all the external conditions of life will antagonize his disorder and assist nature to return to health. In a quarantine station or special asylum the diet, baths, exercise, medical study and care, with all other means, can be applied with military exactness. Each special phase of disease and form of degeneration can be treated, from its particular symptoms, with particular remedies. Nerve- and brain-rest, and restoration of all the organic and functional activities, can be obtained by the use of means under the care of the medical man. Thus the drink-impulse is overcome and dies away with the increasing vigor of the mind and body. Like insanity, drunkenness is cured, not by drugs alone, but by building up the body through all the avenues of nutrition, healthful exercise, regulated mental and physical surroundings, and appropriate drugs. Drunkenness must be recognized as a disease legally, and the victim forced into conditions where he can live along the best sanitary lines of health; where medical treatment and control can be exact and perfect; and where physiological and hygienic training in its broadest and best sense can be applied.

The details of the application of these principles will suggest themselves to every one. These principles were sug-

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gested for the treatment of drunkenness nearly two thousand years ago, but only recently have they received any special attention. Thirty years ago the first pioneer asylum for the application of them was opened at Binghamton, New York. A furious wave of opposition eventually destroyed it, but the truth which it exemplified was above the superstition and prejudice of the hour. To-day there are over a hundred asylums and hospitals in the world for the treatment of drunkards from the physical side. Notwithstanding the storm of opposition which greets every new advance in science (and which in this case is not over yet), the success of the asylum treatment has opened a new pathway of great promise for the future. Public sentiment still denies the disease of the drunkard, and legislatures refuse to give legal power of control; and asylums for inebriates must go on as private enterprises, opposed by superstition, without proper appliances or experience, and treat only the most incurable cases, who come to them as a last resort and from a forced necessity. The wonder is that any success should follow their crude efforts; and yet the statistics of the largest of these asylums indicate a degree of curability that could not have been anticipated.

The first statistical study was made at Binghamton in 1873. Inquiries were made of the friends of 1,500 patients, who had been treated five years before at the asylum. Of 1,100 replies, 61 and a fraction per cent. were still temperate and well after a period of five years. It was a reasonable inference that if 61 per cent. were still restored after this interval, a large percentage would continue so through their remaining lives. Another study of 2,000 cases was made at Fort Hamilton, N. Y., which revealed the fact that 38 per cent. of these cases remained temperate and sober after an interval of from seven to ten years from the time of treatment. In the returns of 3,000 cases studied at the Washingtonian House, at Boston, Mass., 35 per cent. of all the living persons who had been under treatment from eight to twelve years before were temperate and well.

In many smaller asylums both in this country and Europe, where the number studied were limited to a few hundred or less, and the interval of time since the treatment was from four to eight years, the number reported as free from all use of spirits ranged from 32 to 41 per cent. While these statistical facts are not to be considered as final and conclusive, because they

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do not extend over a sufficient length of time from the period of treatment or include a large number of cases, they are full of hopeful possibilities and indications that cannot be ignored. In view of the fact that the asylum cases are largely incurable, and since faults and imperfections in both the building and management of asylums are unavoidable at present, the curability of drunkenness by this means is more certain than in any other way. The same principle obtains as in insanity,—the more recent the case, the more curable; the more complete and thorough the appliances, the greater the certainty of cure. These estimates of cure are sustained by all accurate observers in both Europe and this country, and have become the starting-point for most enthusiastic work by many pioneers.

It is a reasonable inference that if one in every three can be cured by the present imperfect methods, a much larger proportion will be restored to health by the improvements and better institutions of the future. It is evident that a large number of all criminals, insane, idiots, and defectives come from the ranks of incurable drunkards. If such degenerate cases could only be housed and kept under sanitary control, a visible lessening of these defects would follow. Many other facts sustain the opinion that all drunkards, both recent and chronic, should come under legal control and be put in quarantine asylums until cured, or be retained for a lifetime. The practical workings of such asylums are assured in many ways, as well as the fact of the curability of a large number of cases that are literally made worse by the present blundering efforts to improve them. These scientific methods of curing drunkards may be summarized as follows:

First, legislate for their legal control; then organize industrial hospitals in the vicinity of all large towns and cities; tax the spirit traffic to build and maintain such places,—just as all corporations are made responsible for all the accidents and evils which grow out of them; arrest and commit all drunkards to such hospitals for an indefinite time, depending on the restoration of the patients; also commit all persons who use spirits to excess and imperil their own lives and the lives of others; put them under exact military, medical, and hygienic care, where all the conditions and circumstances of life and living can be regulated and controlled; make them self-supporting as far as it is possible; and

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let this treatment be continued for years if necessary. The recent cases will become cured, and the incurable will be protected from themselves and others, and made both useful and self-supporting. Who can fully estimate the benefits to society, to morals, and to civilization by promptly isolating such persons and keeping them in normal states of living? Who can estimate the relief to the tax-payer by the removal of the perils to both property and life from drunkenness? This is not a theory, but a reality only awaiting practical demonstration when the superstitious opposition of public opinion dies away. The time has come to look at this problem in its true light.

The curability of the inebriate is far more certain than that of the insane. The liberty of both is equally dangerous: one is recognized; the other is seldom restrained until he becomes a criminal. The moment a man becomes a drunkard he forfeits all rights to liberty and becomes a ward of the state, and should be controlled by it. It is dense ignorance that permits any one to destroy his life and property by drink, on the supposition that he is a free moral agent. The inebriate is mentally and physically sick, and needs the same help as the insane; and the question of care is simply one of adequate means and remedies to reach the disease. The few pioneers working along these frontier lines of research, looking beyond the dust and conflict of temperance agitation, are fully confident that not far in the future the drunkard will be recognized and cured, and that the mysteries of the great drink-problem will disappear before the march of scientific truth.

T. D. CROTHERS, M. D.

DR. CARPENTER:

THIS question, which has been often asked and variously answered, like many other physiological and pathological queries, is not yet settled. The reason why it remains open is not difficult to see, since it relates to such a variable quantity as man.

Workmen skilled in the business can judge accurately whether an antiquated dwelling, a dismantled bridge, or a crippled ship may be rendered suitable and safe for occupation, as an experienced gardener may predict with reasonable safety whether a diseased plant will mature to advantage; but questions involving the more complex organism, man, are not determined with the same degree of certitude.

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Further than that, when influences affecting man are estimated which of themselves do not tend to lessen the power of self-control, some degree of accuracy may be expected; but when, as in this case, the agent considered acts constantly to the destruction of self-control, who can say, since no two men are precisely alike, whether drunkenness in the abstract is curable or not?

The most we may expect, therefore, is a determination of the probabilities involved from a consideration of the physical conditions incident to this repulsive habit, and from observing actual cases of inebriety.

Some men are born drunkards, some achieve drunkenness, and some have drunkenness thrust upon them. Then, again, the question varies with the conditions of youth, manhood, and old age; while physical and mental strength, occupation, and general habits of life need to be considered.

It seems hardly necessary to mention the obvious fact that drunkenness is but the perversion of a necessary function. The human body, like every other active machine, requires force to perform its various labors, of which food in the liquid form is an important source. From 83 to 85 per cent. of our customary diet is water, the importance of which may be noticed in the fact that water constitutes some 75 per cent. of the blood and nearly three-fifths by weight of the whole body. The evaporation of the fluid portions of blood in all parts of the system is doubtless an important factor in the process of nutrition. When a deficiency of fluid occurs in any part, those signal-stations, the nerves, give notice, and a sensation of thirst arises. If the tissues from which this sensation primarily comes lack any necessary element due to their proper nourishment, this sensation varies accordingly, provided that the nerves conveying the signals are sufficiently accurate in the performance of their work. If the living liquids conveying nourishment contain any special ingredient or property affecting the nerves themselves in a peculiar, unusual, or abnormal way, some correspondingly peculiar sensation is incorporated with the sense of thirst.

In this way morbid cravings are created as the result of the continued use of stimulants and narcotics. No one is thoroughly and truly a drunkard, probably, until these diseased cravings have been established. The tendency to drink spirituous liquors may

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exist for a considerable period as a perverted natural function without the formation of these abnormal impulses I once knew a young man who had naturally a dislike to the taste of most strong liquors, and yet who got drunk occasionally because he thought it a dashing and manly thing to do. In spite of difficulties he worked up to his highest ideal, and was successful in attaining it. He became noted as a mixer of fancy drinks, and later on as a professional guzzler. For a considerable period, in this case, it may be noted that drunkenness was not due to any internal abnormal craving, but to the external force of fashion and this young person's exalted idea of manliness.

Another case is that of a young man of a wealthy family with several drunkards in the ancestral line, and yet who drank no beverage stronger than wine, and that sparingly, until after twenty-five years of age. He had a natural liking for alcoholic liquors, of which he was thoroughly aware, and yet from the force of his own will never drank to excess till after the age of twenty-five. For a considerable period thereafter he was not in any proper sense a drunkard, and the desire he possessed to drink was that due to nature, probably, and not to disease.

This case illustrates another important point,—that it is not the desire or craving alone that makes the drunkard, but, in addition to that, loss of self-control—weakening of the will. In this particular case the young man's will, which had been previously strong to resist the natural tendency, was weakened by business reverses which stripped him of his property. He then drifted into the common channel of sottish debauchery. Abnormal craving and weakened power of control do not always go together, therefore, though they usually do. Individuals are not rare who possess special likings, which become at times, through one influence or another, morbid cravings for stimulants, and who yet remain steady, sober citizens for the greater part of their lives through sheer force of will. An eminent example of this class is the late John B. Gough.

The will of an individual may be weakened and drunkenness induced by influences which have no relation to morbid cravings. Any sort of sickness that sufficiently lowers the "nerve," as fever, hemorrhage, or tape-worm ; any loss, as the loss of property, loss of friends, or disappointed affection,—any of these may serve to break

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down the will, and sottishness results. Morbid craving, however, while it may arise as a consequence of many and various remote causes, is always due, there is good reason to believe, to one of two immediate physical causes—deficient nutrition or perverted nutrition. Alcohol has the same property of retarding the waste of tissue in the human body as it has for preserving snakes, toads, curious growths, and other specimens in the glass jars of the museum. It is true that eminent medical authorities have cited this fact—that alcohol retards the waste of tissue—in support of its moderate use as a food ; but as it may be seriously doubted whether the health is best promoted by retarding the waste of tissue, this property of alcohol suggests quite a different conclusion. A physical reason why savages take so naturally to rum is that they are usually suffering from hunger ; if not as regards the quantity, certainly as regards the quality, of their food. It is no doubt true, as Maudsley has said, that "a freedom of mental power, an exaltation of the whole nature, mental and bodily," is opened up to the savage by the use of intoxicants, just as the same freedom of mental power induces the civilized man when drunk to believe that he owns the earth. But there is the additional reason in the case of the savage that the rum retards the waste of his poorly-nourished tissues.

Dr. Robert Bird, a surgeon formerly of the East Indian Army, has published four cases, which are certainly most convincing as to the point mentioned, that deficient nutrition is an immediate cause of morbid craving, and that when the defects of nutrition are remedied this unnatural craving ceases. These cases, cited by Dr. M. D. Field in an address before the alumni of Bellevue Hospital, are as follows :

"CASE I.—I. H., an infant, while suffering from malarious diarrhœa, showed an abiding desire for gin and brandy. When she could get it, she would drink as much as ten or even twelve ounces a day. This amount made her happy, but never very drunk. It was her chief sustenance for some months, and under its influence the diarrhœa got well. The craving for drink disappeared with the disease. When I last heard of her, she was the sober mother of a family, living with her husband in a village near Newcastle, England.

"CASE II.—H. R., a scrofulous boy of two years, while suffering from chronic dysentery, developed an insane appetite for

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brandy. When this was first offered to him, he drank it greedily and screamed for more, and for weeks brandy was his cry, his joy, and his support. Ultimately he got rid of his dysentery and drink-craving together.

"CASE III.—E. B. was the wife of a river-steamboat captain. Her husband told me 'she drank like a fish,' and had been drinking so for years. She drank anything she could get, and when ordinary drink was not forthcoming, she would drink eau de Cologne, surreptitiously purchased from Hindoo pedlers. As she also suffered from rheumatism of the womb and copious leucorrhœa, I had her removed to hospital for treatment. Cure of the womb-affection in a great degree cured the drink-craving also, but not quite. Oxide of zinc, as recommended by Marcel, of London, and wild-thyme, as recommended by Salvatori, combined with seclusion in an institution where she acted as sewing-mistress, were required to complete the cure of this. She ultimately returned to her husband, reformed and thoroughly restored, nor did she in the subsequent years relapse, so far as I know.

"CASE IV.—M. W., when I first came to know her, was the mother of eight children. In her last confinement she lost a great deal of blood, and subsequently developed a mad wish for liquor, to the great grief of her husband, a steady mechanic. It turned out on inquiry that she had for years previously been in the habit of starving both herself and her children for purposes of economy. Iron, good food, and change to a more temperate climate in this case cured the anæmia, and drink-craving too."

These cases also indicate to some extent, doubtless, the influence of perverted as well as deficient nutrition. It has been frequently noticed that workmen are especially addicted to drunkenness who are accustomed to pursuing their vocations in badly-ventilated rooms. Gross feeding with lack of exercise may similarly pervert the food-supply and produce morbid craving. People accustomed to liveon a single article of diet, or a class of food deficient in some essential element, would seem to be especially susceptible to the dangers of morbid cravings. They receive the quantity of food without the nourishment, and the effect is much the same as the loss of nervous power by the well-fed. Says Dr. George M. Beard: "When the nervous system loses, through any cause, much of its nervous force, so that it cannot stand up-

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right with ease and comfort, it leans on the nearest and most convenient artificial support that is capable of temporarily propping up the enfeebled frame. Anything that gives ease, sedation, oblivion, such as chloral, chloroform, opium, or alcohol, may be resorted to, at first as an incident, and finally as a habit. Such is the philosophy of opium and alcohol inebriety."

Referring the immediate causes of morbid craving for alcoholic stimulant to defective or perverted nutrition, we may enumerate the more general influences inducing these conditions, as:

1. Congenital or hereditary; where the parents have eaten the sour grapes of debauchery, and the children's teeth are set on edge with the taint of a depraved appetite.

2. Excessive mental strain due to overwork, anxiety, or similar cause, inducing not only loss of self-control, as already referred to, but, through the strain on the nerves, morbid cravings for stimulants and sedatives.

3. Diseases or injuries to the bodily organs which directly or indirectly affect the brain and nerves.

4. In the case of the weaker sex, certain peculiar conditions, as shown in menstruation, parturition, and especially the climacteric, not only tend to paralyze the will, but induce at times intense morbid cravings for stimulants.

5. Negative social conditions, such as the lack of friends or family ties, inducing lowness of spirits and a perversion of the fluids and functions of the body.

6. Changes in the brain sometimes due to age.

As all these influences lead to one of the two physical conditions, deficient or perverted nutrition, remedies must evidently have reference both to these ultimate influences and to correcting the bodily conditions.

Perverted nutrition due to alcohol itself is not easily remedied; the yearning demands of the poison being difficult to destroy by medicines. Various antidotes have, however, been suggested, and some are thought highly of in this connection. Nearly five centuries ago the old alchemist Roger Bacon asserted that he had discovered in *aurum potabile*, or tincture of gold, the veritable elixir of life, to drink of which would restore age and decrepitude to youth and beauty. The properties of this wonderful tincture, however, have dissolved away and disappeared, till now the only medical value claimed for any combination of gold is that of

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the chloride, which is regarded as a specific for the effects of drunkenness, one physician claiming to have made permanent cures of 95 per cent. of his cases. It is difficult to see how he can claim permanency of cure for so large a percentage unless the patients are all dead. The writer's experience in many cases where he has administered the chloride of gold has not convinced him of its efficacy. Other drugs, extract of gentian, the sulphate and also nitrate of strychnia, bromo-potash, bromidia, etc., have been urged similarly as specifics for drunkenness.

As it is doubtful whether the physical action of any drug taken for a brief period will influence the individual to a temperate, sober course of life for a series of years thereafter, unless the state of his mind and other conditions are all favorable, we must still regard the inquiry as an open question—Is drunkenness curable?

From the reports of an institution for inebriates we note, in connection with some five thousand cases of drunkenness, certain points relating to the general circumstances and conditions of life.

In regard to nationality, while it is true that Europeans are heavier drinkers than Americans, the American is more susceptible to the evil effects of alcohol, and as a rule succumbs sooner to inebriety than the European. We are not to infer from this, of course, that the American drunkard, in order to be cured, needs to change his nationality; though it does indicate the need of considering the susceptible tendency to exaltation of the American temperament and the necessity for a non-stimulating diet and non-exciting treatment for quite a long period in any attempt to cure the average American dipsomaniac of his disease.

As to climate, elevated regions are better suited to the would-be temperate than low levels or sea-coasts.

In regard to marriage, in the institution referred to "there were some 2,100 married and 1,750 single male inebriates, and 400 married female inebriates, and only about 50 single female inebriates"; from which it is but fair to infer that uncongenial marriages lead to inebriety in a greater ratio than solitary singleness. Unmarried males were, however, more frequently subjects for readmission than the married; while the reverse was true in regard to females.

As to age, inebriates may exceptionally, but do not as a rule,

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attain to a long life. About one in 400 reaches the age of seventy years.

As to indoor occupations, the greatest number of drunkards were those engaged directly in the liquor business, and next to those painters, and printers next. Of outdoor occupations drivers and teamsters were the greatest in number. The professions ranked, in the order of greatest number of inebriates, as follows: physicians, lawyers, engineers, druggists, journalists, artists, students, reporters, clergymen, actors.

In regard to occupations, the more arduous the calling and the greater its demands upon the physical as well as mental powers, the greater the tendency to inebriety; from which it is fair to conclude that a necessary condition in any system aiming at a permanent cure is rest for a sufficient period to enable the physical factors of life to readjust themselves on a normal basis. Where any self-regulating apparatus like the human body suffers derangement, occupying considerable time in the process, it would seem but reasonable to suppose that an equally long period at least would be necessary to effect a normal readjustment. According to unquestioned testimony, not only does the drinking-habit derange and poison the tissues, induce morbid craving, and weaken the power of self-control, but it destroys the moral responsibility of its unfortunate victim. He becomes not merely diseased, but insane, and in accord with his temperament exhibits the vagaries, hallucinations, or silly eccentricities of the lunatic.

To attempt to cure the confirmed inebriate by appealing merely to his moral sense as against the morbid craving of a diseased stomach and brain would seem futile. The poor drunkard may appreciate the argument, acknowledge its truthfulness, and yet have no will to enforce it. The best he can do is to place himself in a situation where his physical powers may be restored and where he will be free meanwhile from the social influences inducing him to drink.

I once knew a brilliant young man who had become a drunkard. In one of his sober periods, which were not frequent, he fell in love with a young woman who, for the time at least, reciprocated his affection. He proposed to her and, acting under the advice of friends, she consented to marry him provided he would lead a perfectly sober life for two years. He agreed to this, and engaged himself to work in an institution where absti-

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nence from all intoxicants was the law. This plan was successful, and he now is a successful business man in a neighboring city, and is not a drunkard. The most we may expect of the confirmed inebriate in his lucid moment is that he may have sense and will enough remaining to put himself into a condition favorable to his recovery.

ELON N. CARPENTER, M. D.

DR. EDSON:

PROBABLY no subject has interested students of humanity more than that of intemperance. For ages writings against it and remedies for it have been wisely and unwisely spread broadcast. Law-makers have enacted all manner of measures to effect its suppression, and yet to-day it appears as prevalent a vice as ever. Indeed, the adulterations of the various intoxicant beverages have increased their harmful effects, and in more ways than one enhanced their pernicious influence. To determine if inebriety (chronic alcoholism) can be successfully treated, we must thoroughly understand the causes that lead men and women to indulge habitually in strong drink.

In this connection we will first consider the influence of heredity, for it is of paramount importance. The transmissibility of the vice of intemperance from parent to offspring has been noted by nearly all the ancient writers upon the subject, but none, so far as I can ascertain, recognized the importance of this phase of the question. They noticed it merely as a curious fact, just as they noticed an inherited physical characteristic. They failed to see that it determined the difference between a crime and a disease. Magnus Huss was the first writer who recognized alcoholism as a diseased condition. Morrell, taking up the thread where Huss left it, demonstrated the degenerate effect of alcoholism upon the progeny of drunkards. A host of writers might be quoted whose observations cover long periods of time, and prove beyond a doubt that intemperance is transmitted through successive generations. Instances of this are interesting and instructive.

One observer of high standing (Gall) describes the case of a Russian family in which father and son both died early in life from alcoholic excesses, while the only member of the third generation manifested at the age of five years a craving for strong drink.

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Another observer (De Bouzareingue) states that he knew a family whose females transmitted the vice from mother to daughter for several generations. The writer has knowledge of a family sprung from an intemperate mother, consisting in three generations of some twenty-seven persons, twelve of whom were addicted to the excessive use of alcoholic liquors and three of whom used opium habitually. Grenier, of France, who made a special study of alcoholism, has shown that weak-minded persons are much predisposed to the abuse of drink, and that, having the hereditary taint, they become inebriates by the same process of development as their progenitors.

A short time ago the Medico-Psychological Society of France offered a prize for the best essay on the "Influence of Heredity on Alcoholism." M. Paul Sollier, resident physician of the hospitals of Paris, was adjudged the successful competitor. In his essay Sollier classifies drunkards as follows: 1st, dipsomaniacs (hereditary drunkards, who are not always intoxicated); 2d, acquired drunkards (non-hereditary), who are always intoxicated; 3d, hereditary drunkards, who are always intoxicated. He shows that to hereditary drunkards alcohol is more deleterious in its effects than to those whose habits are acquired. This he does by a vast number of statistics collated from literature and wide experience. Theoretically, too, he is right, for the offspring of drunkards inherit a feeble, rheumatic temperament; and to such a temperament alcohol is especially harmful. A drunkard not only procreates children who inherit his appetite, but his offspring are also feeble, bodily and mentally. Le Grain, another celebrated student of alcoholism, powerfully sums up his able thesis thus: "If there be any two propositions that we have a right to formulate at the present day, the following are two: 1. Cerebral inferiority—the direct cause of excesses in strong drink—has its origin most frequently in heredity; that is, excessive drinkers are degenerates. 2. Alcoholism is one of the most powerful causes of mental degeneration; that is, the sons of inebriates are degenerates. The relations between alcoholism and mental degeneration are comprised within this terribly vicious circle, which is irrefutably traced out and confirmed by innumerable most eloquent medical observations."

Other influences that predispose to drink are of great importance, comprising, as they do, grave questions of sociology. To

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discuss them thoroughly is not within the scope of this short article. I will briefly enumerate those that bear most strongly upon our subject. These arise from bad mental and social conditions, ignorance and vice, lax liquor laws, apathetic public sentiment, vicious or too indulgent early training, a lack of moral rectitude.

Chief among the social conditions that predispose to inebriety is occupation. This may be divided into two distinct classes—1st, occupation that constantly presents temptation to indulgence in drink; 2d, occupation that is so arduous or monotonous that it begets a craving for stimulants. To the first class belong bartenders and others connected with the manufacture and sale of liquor. To the second belong those who are exposed to the inclemency of the weather—cabmen, express agents, etc.; arduous callings—workers in foundries, bakers, etc.; monotonous callings—soldiers, sailors, ranchmen, etc.

The want of occupation is a most potent predisposing cause. Painful or exciting illness often forms the foundation of the habit. Abuse of tobacco may be considered a predisposing cause, as may any agent or influence that depresses the bodily or mental functions. Habits that may arise from a thousand-and-one daily circumstances lead persons into indulgences, small at first, but which are increased in almost geometrical progression. The outrageous adulteration of alcoholic beverages is not only a predisposing and exciting cause, but the essential oils and other deleterious drugs used for this purpose act upon the brain and nervous system with such force as to weaken the already weak intellect, and take from the physician the little help he might otherwise have from his patient in effecting the cure.

I have frequently seen samples of concoctions labelled "Essential Oil of Rum" or "Essential Oil of Whiskey," with directions something as follows: Add the contents of this bottle to so many gallons of crude spirit and so much water; the result will be a barrel of rum, whiskey, or brandy, according to the kind of "essence" used.

The effect of alcohol as a robber of the intellect is enormously enhanced, not alone by adulteration, but also by certain aromatics that are added to popularize special kinds of beverages. Absinthe and vermouth are good illustrations of this. These drugs act as powerful synergists to alcohol in its effect on the organism.

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Having roughly stated the predisposing causes of habitual drunkenness, let us see what the effect of the exciting cause is upon the human organism, and we will then be in a position to judge of the effect of treatment. The persistent abuse of alcohol affects the human system in a variety of ways. Changes of structure of various tissues result. These changes, as has already been said, are of a degenerative nature. They are insidious and progressive, sooner or later declaring themselves. The stomach is inflamed so that the peptic glands and their orifices are almost wholly destroyed. The functions of digestion are no longer properly performed. Ulcers frequently form in the stomach tissues. The appetite for food is at first irregular, then lost. Nausea and vomiting are often symptoms. The various glands of the body are affected; the liver especially so, for reasons obvious to a physician. At first this organ is congested and enlarged. Inflammation may affect it in several ways, or its tissue may undergo fatty degeneration, or it may become contracted, giving rise to an appearance on its surface called "hobnailed"; also named "gin-drinker's liver." The larynx undergoes changes that affect the quality of the voice. The rasping, harsh voice of the drunkard is well known. Chronic inflammation affects the bronchial tubes, often resulting in chronic inflammation of the lungs themselves (fibroid phthisis). Fatty degeneration of the entire muscular system occurs, and in this the muscles of the heart are involved, giving rise to the well-known "fatty heart." The blood-vessels undergo a change that renders them brittle and liable to rupture. The blood itself is affected. Degenerative changes occur in it that are little understood as yet by physicians. Suffice it to say that the blood is rendered less alkaline than normally, and that its fluidity is altered. It shows a tendency to exude through the walls of its vessels. The scavengers of the blood, the phagocites, are not so active or so easily produced in the blood of drunkards. The kidneys are affected like the liver. Bright believed—and his views are generally accepted—that the kidney-disease named after him was frequently caused by over-indulgence in drink.

But by far the most important changes wrought by alcohol in the system are those of the brain. The circulation of this organ is at first impaired. The blood-vessels, large and small, are dilated. Often the brittle condition

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of the arteries mentioned before supervenes, and small hemorrhages into the brain-coverings are likely to take place. Usually the size of the brain undergoes no change. Sometimes its consistency is greater. It is more dense, harder. In very advanced cases areas of the brain soften. This is due to the advanced derangement of the blood-vessels supplying the softened parts with nourishment. Other changes take place in the brain that are not yet noticed. To these are due the altered perceptive senses. The special senses are affected in a variety of ways. The general sensibility is destroyed. Nervous phenomena manifest themselves. Insomnia is the rule. If sleep is obtained, it is disturbed by distressing dreams. Loss of muscular power may be so complete that palsy or paralysis occurs. Neuralgias are common. The naturally-weak will is still more enfeebled. The sense of shame is lost; this is especially the case in women. Memory fails. Acute attacks of delirium, marked by hallucination and delusion, are frequent. The final termination is death or insanity. The latter may take the form of melancholia, mania, chronic delirium, dementia, or general paresis.

Alcohol is said to prevent bodily waste. It does. But the waste it prevents is natural, normal waste that should take place—the excretion of matters that had better be wasted; in other words, it favors the retention of unwholesome materials that being retained form unhealthy flesh.

The drunkard easily succumbs to acute disease or to the results of bodily violence. Alcohol would seem to be one of nature's most powerful agents to effect in man "the survival of the fittest." Weak moral natures are those most liable to yield to its temptations, and the inherited tastes of the progeny of such are likely to speedily result in their destruction. The sins of the fathers are visited on the children.

Recovery from habitual drunkenness is not the rule; it is the exception. The peculiar mental conditions with which the drunkard starts on his career are so overwhelmingly acted upon by alcohol and the synergistic drugs combined with it that his case is almost hopeless from the first. Preventive measures in the case of drunkenness are worth many pounds of cure. Restrictive liquor laws are first in order of importance. The easier it is for men to obtain drink, the more they will get drunk.

The influence of diet in preventing drunkenness must not be

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lost sight of. In England, after an unusually strong temperance movement, it was thought wise and proper in many families to compensate those servants who took the pledge by a small addition to their wages in lieu of the customary "beer-money." It was soon found, however, that the monthly consumption of bread greatly increased in these families, and that the beer was thus twice paid for—first, in money allowance; secondly, in its equivalent in bread.

Those whose arduous occupations predispose to the use of stimulants should be plentifully supplied with nourishing food, or the facilities should be given them to obtain it easily.

Of great importance in the treatment of habitual drunkenness is a change of environment. The patient should be cut off from temptation. The impossibility of effecting a permanent removal of temptation is a powerful factor in rendering a cure hopeless. The periodic cravings of the drunkard it is impossible for a person who has not suffered from them to imagine. We can only estimate their strength by the amount of hardship that a drunkard will undergo to satisfy them. Pledges are worthless. It is said that, in England, of 500,000 persons who took the temperance pledge 350,000 were known to have violated it.

Temporary removal from temptation is easily accomplished by means of the many public and private inebriate asylums. It is admitted that these institutions in the United States are unequalled. Their good work and value cannot be questioned. They are often the means of effecting cures in exceptional cases—such a case, for example, as the following, which came under my own observation, and in which I believe the cure is permanent. It was in the person of a young man of great ability and fine moral perceptions—two conditions that in themselves are exceptional in drunkards. His disease was inherited, which makes the exception still more remarkable. His realization of his condition was unusually acute.

I will close my paper with an alphabetical doggerel I learned from him. I have never seen it printed, and its authorship is unknown to me. It epitomizes the subject so perfectly that I cannot forbear to inflict it on my readers. I frequently found my patient sitting up in bed, the pictures on the walls of his room all reversed, for their subjects seemed to him to be endowed with life

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and movement, and annoyed him exceedingly. His eyes would stream with tears as he recited the following:

A stands for Alcohol; deathlike its grip;
B for Beginner, who takes just a sip;
C for Companion who urges him on;
D for the Demon of drink that is born;
E for Endeavor he makes to resist.
F stands for Friends, who so loudly insist;
G for the Guilt that he afterwards feels;
H for the Horrors that hang at his heels;
I his Intention to drink not at all.
J stands for Jeering that follows his fall;
K for his Knowledge that he is a slave.
L stands for the Liquors his appetite craves;
M for convivial Meetings so gay.
N stands for No that he tries hard to say;
O for the Orgies that then come to pass.
P stands for Pride that he drowns in his glass;
Q for the Quarrels that nightly abound.
R stands for Ruin, that hovers around.
S stands for Sights that his vision bedim.
T stands for Trembling that seizes his limbs;
U for his Usefulness sunk in the slums.
V stands for Vagrant he quickly becomes;
W for Waning of life that's soon done;
X for his eXit, regarded by none.
Youth of this nation, such weakness is crime;
Zealously turn from the tempter in time!

CYRUS EDSON, M. D.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"OUR DREADFUL AMERICAN MANNERS."

I QUOTE the phrase. The most of us have heard it, and have repelled the implication it contains with more or less vigor, according to the strength of our convictions upon the subject.

"We should like to know," say some impulsive patriots, "whether American manners are not just as good as German or Italian manners, for example. Why, when we were staying at Lucerne one summer we used to witness most shocking exhibitions of bad manners from the German and Italian tourists—yes, and from those of other nations, too."

No doubt you did, my dear patriots; but what has that to do with the matter? Upon this subject we may ask, as an American politician is once said to have remarked upon a very different topic, "What have we to do with abroad?" That there is such a thing as Russian or German ill breeding does not absolve Americans from responsibility for their own manners. We shall never reform ourselves by comparing ourselves with others to their disadvantage.

The presence of bad manners implies the existence of a standard from which divergence has been made. That standard is established by a minority of persons trained to habits of thoughtfulness and usefulness. How small that minority is a very little experience will demonstrate, and we do not always find its members just where we should naturally look for them.

One might suppose that in congressional and legislative halls we should find a high standard of manners constantly preserved, but the honorable gentlemen who fill them have quite other views as to what constitutes their duty to their constituents, unless, indeed, they instruct on the principle of showing what is to be avoided by those who wish to be considered well bred.

It is not so long ago that a large number of Columbia College students broke up a theatrical performance by their outrageous behavior in the theatre. True, they were young men, and it is the fashion to excuse much to youth; but the majority of them came from homes of refinement, and better things might reasonably have been expected of them. If we are not to look for good manners among the men who are trained in the foremost colleges and universities, where are we to look for them?

Perhaps at no time in our natural life have the tokens of external polish been more general than at present. That is, there are a greater number of people who lift the hat in salutation, who have fairly good table manners, who respect the finger-bowl on its merits, and keep the knife in proper subjection to its mate the fork, than ever before; but the native savagery is only par-

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tially obscured. Watch the procession of people leaving the dining-room of a summer hotel, each industriously plying his toothpick. Observe the rows of spittoons which are displayed in railway cars, hotel parlors and corridors, steamboat saloons, public halls, and business offices. Watch the well-dressed man with his cigar and the laborer with his pipe. Is the one, with his presumed advantages of training, one whit more regardful of the comfort of persons near him than the other, who has not had these advantages? Note the behavior of the knot of friends who are going on an excursion together. If they are men, they puff their cigars in calm disregard of persons near them on the steamer's deck, and oblige every one within hearing distance to listen to their loud and jovial conversation. If they are women, they talk at the tops of their voices and generally in concert, and involuntary listeners are made conversant with a host of minute details amid which the feminine mind delights to wander. If the party be made up of men and women, there is a still greater confusion of tongues, much good-nature, a great deal of joking carried on in a high key, while the amount of decorum manifested depends upon the social position of the members composing the party. This is a variable quantity, however, and the blue blood is not always an assurance of absolute propriety.

Urban manners are supposed to be superior to rustic ones, but the superiority extends only to superficial externals. It may be safely said that not more than one person in a hundred in a city street shows any consideration for his neighbor. The plain fact is that very few of us care what opinion our neighbor is forming of us. Independence is a good thing, but it soon passes the boundaries of good taste and good feeling and becomes noisy self-assertiveness.

The rule of finest manners ordains that in a public place two or more persons engaged in conversation should not obtrude that conversation upon the ears of disinterested third parties. Because A has met B in the street, it is not needful that C and D should be obliged to listen to what A and B have to say to each other. Nor when Mrs. E meets Mrs. F in the street-car should these two estimable matrons take all the other occupants of the car into their confidence respecting what interests the two friends only. There is no rule of good breeding oftener violated than this. Go where one will, its observance can hardly ever be noted, its violation is almost universal. The woman who calls across the alley to her neighbor leaning from the opposite tenement-house window is no greater a sinner in this respect than the fine lady who discusses with a companion at the entrance of a theatre or a church topics which are of interest only to herself and her friend, but which every one near her is obliged to hear. It is not that they mean to be heard by persons about them; *it is that they do not care.*

"I don't say anything I am ashamed of," says Simplicitas; "anybody is welcome to know what I am taking about."

True, but has the outside world no rights that Simplicitas is bound to respect? Why should Quietas on his way down the street be obliged to listen to all that Simplicitas, just in front of him, is pouring into the ears of his friend? Simplicitas may be quoting from the ante-Nicene fathers, but that is no reason why Quietas should be forced into the unwilling position of listener.

Perhaps Simplicitas may urge that his voice is one that cannot be pitched on a key low enough to be heard only by the person he is addressing. That is a misfortune, to be sure, but if he cannot learn to modulate his voice out

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of consideration for others, he must keep silent in public. There is no other course open to him.

It is the custom in some liturgical churches for the congregation to remain in silent prayer for a moment after the benediction. From the point of view of decorum and good breeding there is something to be said for the practice; but surely there can be no legitimate defence urged for the custom which prevails in non-liturgical churches of using the moment of benediction as a season of preparation for leaving. Persons who take this time for putting on their overshoes, getting into their overcoats, or groping for their hats and canes *are distinctly ill bred*, whether they are members of mission churches or worship beneath gorgeous "roofs of plaster painted like an Indian squaw."

People who occupy the middle seats in the rows of chairs in a theatre do not afford the best example possible of their good manners when they oblige their neighbors to rise in order to let them pass backward and forward between the acts of the play. And persons who in order to "avoid the crowd" leave the theatre or concert-room a few moments before the conclusion of the performance, and by the confusion attending their departure spoil the effect of the last scene of the play or the closing number of the concert, are quite as flagrant offenders against the code of good manners.

It is a common complaint of ushers at church weddings that it is very difficult to reserve for the invited guests the seats which have been set aside for them. A mob of well-dressed women intent upon securing good seats press past the ushers, in very many cases, establish themselves comfortably in the reserved seats, and will not be ousted therefrom.

In the railway trains the majority of the passengers seem bent upon retaining in their possession one more seat than they have paid for, even when they see that other persons are thereby obliged to stand.

Everywhere one meets with self-assertion. Sometimes it is aggressive and conscious; sometimes it is passive and unconscious; but always and ever it is based upon the principle that the comfort of the many must be sacrificed to that of the individual. We stand and talk with a friend in the middle of a crowded pavement, and it matters very little if we thereby obstruct the stream of travel; we make our sidewalks and the floors of our public halls filthy with tobacco juice; we smoke in the street, and almost everywhere else, in the presence of non-smokers; we flourish our toothpicks in public; we commit not only these but ten thousand other sins against good manners; and then we are surprised if any one calls us an ill-bred people. Perhaps we are not ill bred when compared with certain other peoples, but we have no business to so compare ourselves. The only standard by which to measure ourselves is that established by the practice of the thoughtful, unselfish minority—a practice which consists in doing nothing to promote individual comfort, pleasure, or convenience that shall interfere with the comfort or well-being (in the broad sense of the term) of those about us.

"Manners," says Emerson, "form the cloak that virtue wears when she goes abroad"; and lest our virtue be taken for other than it is, it becomes us to see that there are no rents or gaping holes in this outer garment of ours.

The plain, unpalatable fact must be stated that, in spite of the presence among us of many persons whose lives are regulated by a spirit of the finest, most thoughtful courtesy, as a people we Americans are noisy, boastful, ag-

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gressive, glorying in our "push" and self-assertiveness, and quite content that these most disagreeable features of our national character should obscure our better and nobler qualities which lie beneath.

I am not concerned with the causes which have produced the results complained of. I am speaking of present facts—facts which are not now brought up for notice for the first time, but have received adverse comment before. But the most serious aspect of the matter is the spirit of indifference to reform which is practically manifested by the common belief that we are better bred than the majority of nations. So long as we are satisfied with ourselves there will be no progress.

But we are not a stupid people, and we are still somewhat sensitive to foreign strictures upon our manners and customs. We have been known to resent foreign criticism in past years and then apply ourselves to reform what was criticised.

Let us be as resentful as we will, and abuse to our heart's content the insolent foreigner or the unpatriotic native who says that there are some very weak places in our armor, and then let us confess to ourselves that our armor *is* weak, and take counsel of our better and unselfish selves as to how it may be mended. Then, and not till then, shall we cease to hear of "our dreadful American manners."

O. F. ADAMS.

ELECTRICITY AND LIFE.

IT SEEMS to be a pretty well-established fact that electricity may be made at least a powerful stimulant to the growth of plants. May it not be more than a mere stimulant? May it not be an actual creator of life? Beans, rye, corn, oats, barley, peas, potatoes, sunflowers, clover, and flax have all been experimented upon, in some cases with astonishing results. In one series of experiments the seeds were electrified before they were sown; in another, currents were maintained through the soil in which they were planted; and in still another, through the atmosphere immediately above the plants. In several instances the yield of fruit was enormously above the average, and in all the growth was unusually luxuriant. Further experiments are in progress, and it is not unlikely that science is about to add another to her long series of beneficent triumphs, another refutation to the croaking philosophy of Malthus and his disciples.

The results of the experiments have, furthermore, a suggestive bearing upon the relation between electricity and that inscrutable something which we call life. If they do not prove them the same, they at least bring them nearer together than any phenomena which have preceded them. When, in the healing art, enfeebled vitality is restored, either wholly or in part, by the skilful application of electricity, nothing is positively demonstrated beyond mere healthful stimulation, the mere awakening of life which already lay dormant in the system, such as might possibly have followed the use of other remedial agents. But here it is not morbid restored to normal conditions, not dormant life reawakened to action. It is apparently the actual development of vitality not preëxistent in the perfectly healthy and normal organisms under treatment. Electricity itself appears to be converted to vitality, as elsewhere it is converted to light, heat, and mechanical motion.

Whether life can thus not only be renewed, but actually transfused into the veins, or rather the nerves, of man remains for physiological science to

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determine. It has already been shown that a living body is a species of thermo-electric battery, of which the ectoderm and the endoderm are the opposite poles; that the exhilarating effects of a cold plunge, for example, are due simply to the increase of potential from the reduced temperature of the "cold" electrode. But merely setting a battery into operation, or merely increasing its action, is not increasing its inherent voltage, which is what the recent experiments seem to have done for plants.

But do not heat and the active principle of light artificially intensified produce similar effects. The forcing of vegetable growth in hothouses is an old process, not unlike the one in question, both in method and effect. According to the reports given, however, there is a very great difference in the results attained. If this be true, it would seem to indicate more strongly than ever that of all forms of natural force electricity bears the closest relation to that mysterious form of it which we call life.

EDWARD P. JACKSON.

THE VALUE OF VANITY.

VANITY, shared more or less by all mankind, is universally conceded to to be a weakness, if not a defect. In other words, what everybody possesses, and should be conscious of possessing, everybody condemns, often in unsparing terms. But vanity, if not recognized as a virtue, is at least a necessity. No one could live, and, indeed, no one tries to live, without it. It is as essential to individual advancement, to human progress, to civilization, as to the perpetuity of the race.

Really, it is not so much vanity itself which is censured as its manifestation. To have it in full force, and yet to hide it adroitly, is one of the finest of fine secular arts. The sin of this, as of so many worldly things, would appear to consist in discovery. To have in private is venial: to be found out is unpardonable.

But why should we be ashamed of or disavow vanity, when it is our common heritage, and when it is productive of so good results? What we need is that it shall be so regulated that it may bear desirable fruit. The name hurts it: it sounds feeble, and a trifle vulgar. Rechristen it; call it self-love, which is its equivalent, and you lend it a certain importance, if not distinction.

Self-love has a very wide meaning and various interpretations, most of them unfavorable. It is argued that a self-loving man has not, and cannot have, love for anybody else; that he must be completely, repulsively selfish; that the external world is related to him only through his hard and monstrous egotism. But is there any such man, outside of moral theories and the shocking doctrine of total depravity? Men are never half so bad as they are represented, or as we like to believe in our misanthropic moods. Self-love may be low or high, mean or generous, degrading or elevating. All depends on its quality and degree. The self-love that is little, narrow, absorbing, is allied to gross selfishness, and is characteristic of ignoble minds. The self-love that is modest, moderate, reflective, critical, begets self-respect, proper pride, sense of responsibility, and obligation. It inheres in the loftiest, the gentlest, the most conscientious spirits: it is the fertile mother, the world over, of high thoughts and noble deeds.

The spring of all human action, the source of history, may be directly

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traced to self-love—to vanity, if you prefer—in some of its protean forms. Without it, life would be stunted; the world would stagnate. What great, glorious, or disinterested action or career is not due to its promptings? The crown of all virtue is to do good for the sake of good. It is the ideal excellence, and has been attributed to angels by mystics and theologians, who considered man incapable of it. But doing good for good's sake must come from a superior kind of vanity. No one could love good or do good unless its contemplation and performance gave him pleasure of a subtile sort—the pleasure that is inseparable from and a part of vanity. It is not in humanity to do habitually what we hate, or what costs us pain. Our lives, if we are entirely sane, must follow the current of our inclinations, and such current is ever in the stream of self-love.

Why, then, should we decry vanity, name it as we may, since it is the cause and promoter of the best that is in us? It may be the cause and promoter, too, of much that is bad, for all weakness is bad; but we should labor to repress the species of vanity which we feel to be weak, as an aid to the development of vanity of the higher kind. By thus substituting one for the other, by a steady process of elimination and accretion, we build up and strengthen what we understand as character.

It is the petty, sordid vanity, commonly supposed to stand for all vanity, which provokes contempt and reproof. A man who talks of what he eats, of what he wears, of the trifles that occupy him, as if they were of consequence, is thus vain. He is deeply interested in such insipidities, because they pertain to his personality, which is momentous to him, however insignificant to others. Such vanity, strictly conceit, is tiresome and repellent, whenever and wherever displayed. Vanity, proper, strikes a loftier key. It is generally defined as a trait that makes us wish the esteem of others; and this definition is usually accepted as correct. Who can hope to gain the esteem of others by boring them about interminable details of emptiness, by suggestions of frivolous egotism? But such esteem is a compensation any of us might seek with care and pains, provided we are not too intent and solicitous therefor. Vanity should never be gratified at the expense of worthy pride. That commandment should always be borne in mind.

Imagine, if you can, a man without vanity, and you have the likeness of a barbarian. Vanity moves and moulds us through every stage of manners and morals, from the first to the last of our development. Through it we adapt ourselves to our associates; we are considerate, courteous, kind; being aware that such treatment is grateful to receive as well as to give. Without vanity we should be no better than boors, and our boorishness would soon make us social outcasts. Vanity yields us inward light and outward grace. It is similar to sympathy in explaining character and teaching charitableness. To a certain extent it enables us to carry out the golden rule, inciting us to do to others as we would wish them to do to us, in major not less than in minor affairs. What is good breeding but vanity turned outward, its principles applied to our neighbors? It creates comradery; it encourages good-fellowship; it cuts the leaves and gilds the edges of the book of life.

What an incentive to conduct, distinction, celebrity it is! It often supplies the place of moral principle. It restrains the vicious, refines the coarse, supports the weak, disarms the malignant. By it the ignorant are made learned, the mean generous, the timid brave. All ambition, even the most laudable, is largely composed of vanity; for it yearns for the applause

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of the multitude. Where would have been our great names but for its urgence? History would not have been written: there would have been neither authors to write nor heroes to commemorate.

We are all actors on the stage of the world, though the great mass of us are mere supernumeraries. But even these, though they may never have a speaking-part, may never utter a word, look forward to the time when they shall draw crowds as *Hamlet*, when the alert critics shall fill columns in discussing their *Othello*. This is vanity whispering in their ear and conjuring dreams that will never greet the dawn. But the fancy is a comfort and will sustain them through many a weary day and toilsome night. No matter if it be but vapor. It is as substance while it lasts, and it may last as long as they. Dreams and vapors are often the best part of existence; for though they deceive, they may continue while deception is needed, and may instill a modicum of content. The actors who rise, who play grand personages with loud acclaim, who realize their visions, are haunted by vanity also. But we cease to hear of this after their ascent. It is constantly put forward, and frequently thought, that those who have attained greatness are without vanity. The name is then changed to self-knowledge, self-appreciation, self-esteem; but it is vanity, nevertheless. The public seem determined to regard vanity as something small, belonging to small natures. But it may be big, even majestic; it animates heroes as well as underlings. The great have no need to show their vanity—performance has rendered its showing superfluous—and hence it is presumed to be unborn. While we are actors on the stage of the world, were it not for the footlights, the scenery, the costumes, the audience particularly,—all emblematic of the machinery of self-love,—the drama would be a lost art.

We must be vain to hold faith in ourselves: without such faith motive would be blunted and achievement impossible. We are all prone to overrate ourselves; but such overrating furnishes us with the audacity to attempt and the strength to endure. It is far better to have too much vanity than too little, since our acts almost always fall below it. And vanity in excess carries us, in consequence, further than vanity that is inadequate. We may be ridiculous through manifestation of self-love; but the ridiculousness disappears when execution is undeniable. Instead of telling what we can do, we should do it first. Then others will tell for us. The vainest men are probably the most reserved, as the deepest feeling defies expression. It is our duty, perhaps, to think much of our powers, and to cultivate simultaneously the habit of silence.

Hope and vanity are the phantasmal poles of our being. They both paint pictures that elude the senses and cheat the mind. One is a will-o'-the-wisp; the other, half a falsehood. But they enable us to live in a harsh, barren world; to hide the pains and penalties that destiny ordains. Without their combined aid, might not the planet cease, in time, to be populated?

JUNIUS HENRI BROWNE.

THE IDEAL UNIVERSITY.

THERE is but one possible university. The only possible university, as a thing actually realized, has never been seen upon our planet. This is odd. Where did the name come from? it may be asked. And the answer is, Names come before their time. Names are ambitious things. They are the reaching of the race in hazy vision after things which are instinctively

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groped for, and which lie hid for centuries in ways that afterward excite our marvel. There is but one orthodoxy; but who has ever reached it?

This paper will be laughed at if it fail to make out its case; and it may as well be bold. There *is* an oncoming university. It is absolutely simple. It will have the attribute of oneness, and smile at all that have gone before. Its marvel will be that it was so lately born; and Cam and Isis and Tiber, the Seine and the Nile, who thought they had universities on their banks, will be forced to conclude otherwise. Nay, they will admit that the name has worked damage; that claiming orthodoxy has prevented our being orthodox; that building no end of universities has prevented us from having any; just as the law of the sidereal heavens under such a potherer as Tycho Brahe had shut out from us gravitation, when every footfall upon the floor, and every grinding of one's chair upon the carpet, was a clamoring upon our sense for a simple recognition of the attraction of every particle.

Now, what is a university? A university is a college and a bunch of training-schools. Men will smile at such an idea as pretending to be unknown and unapproached among the nations; but as we go on and describe what we intend, let any one say in what part of the globe any such thing is actually found. We will give him a chance for this under three unveilings of the thought that we propose:—

First, the mischief to a college of trying, itself, to be a university; second, the blessing to a college of staying where it is, and diminishing rather than increasing, oftentimes, the number of its professorships; and, third, the novelty that some college will effect by creating the annex to itself of a bunch of training-schools.

I. The mischief of which I speak will appear under these considerations: (1) A man's mind can attend best to a certain number of studies. Multiplying them, after that, can be of no manner of advantage. (2) It is a prime function for a school to pick out for a boy's learning the very princeliest subjects of thought. (3) Our fathers thought they were doing that under certain time-honored curricula. We do not believe that the crowding of professorships has occurred from a doubt of this. It has been a vague idea of progress, some undefined notion of something higher, that has led a college president to stand out on commencement day and tell of forty-two professorships, instead of an original eleven, rather than any well-defined idea of how some score of them were to come in.

I have a college at my door; one of splendid opportunity. It has been under my eye all my life. It has a peerless chance of being the university of the future. It has the geography,—in a circle of sixty miles shutting in the biggest cities and the largest population in America. It has the ethnography,—the deep Scotch-Irish pocket, which it has begun to empty. It has the geology,—in this first rising from the sea, of which the very Indians understood the beauty; where they had their trail north and south for ages, and where the white man followed on its well-drained ridge with his stage route along the seaboard. It has the climate,—unfavorable to being sick; and the temperature,—most favorable to study. It has the philosophy,—at least it thinks it has; and the theology,—at least that which requires the least mending. And yet the inheritors of this seat, with ample lessons to the contrary in the east, are spoiling themselves for a college (I feel sure it is only for a time) by smothering their college itself in the misbuilt lumber of a possible university.

I have no doubt that many an old brain has labored, as mine has, with

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the wonder how all these new bearers are to get around the corpse. It used to puzzle old-time dons to get a hand upon us often enough when they were but ten. How now when they are forty? The thing is preposterous. And therefore arithmetic comes to the rescue, and studies begin to be pushed to the wall. This might be well enough (except for waste in the money of the professorship), but, alas for us old-time men! it is our princeliest that have been thrust aside. There has arisen the horror of what is called an "elective system." Let me step right over into the second count, viz.,

II. The blessing of the old-time *régime*.

The mass of men, from one cause or another, are early and late day-laborers. This must be an acknowledged fact. And it must be acknowledged, further, that, except in rare instances, they cannot spend a fortune in years of learning. But there are some that can; and these are the men that will have a college.

A college, therefore, is a school which takes a man destined to the higher crafts (or, through wealth, sadly enough, destined to no craft whatever) and carries him through a liberal training.

A college is of the neuter gender as respects professions. In fact, it is not sexual. There should be a college for men and a college for women. It is the cellar of the coming architecture, and should be levelled up alike, whether the structure upon it is to be a drawing-room life or a manufactory.

Suppose a youth does not like mathematics. *Teach it to him.* He has something defective in that direction.

We never have found a man who could explain the watered meadows of Virginia. A field that lies right can be so side-ditched and flooded as to bear the weight for centuries both of hay-making and grazing-down. Men literally show it no mercy. It is not that it is assured from drouth; for the water is taken off in the summer season. It is not lime water that does it; for the effect is for ages, long after the carbonate supply would become a drug upon the soil. Moreover, freestone rivulets answer just as well. What is it, then? The fact is, nobody knows.

There is a language, now, that is laid on like that water. It is a half-dead language; but, somehow or other, the Peels and Gladstones and Butlers and Bacons of the world sprout out from under it. Put its students outside of a ring, and others, equally first-class, by themselves within, and these last might be hooted at as a handful. Ask Milton where he puts the Greek language, or ask Pitt, and one might be made indignant that the fad of the present day puts into the very rig of our colleges the right of trampling upon Greek after the sophomore year.

It will be understood, therefore, that we are teaching that a college should stay a college. If a college stay a college, it is a grand part of a university. I looked for a professor one day, and found him with fifteen students lecturing, with a French model, on the entrails of a goose. Think of a callow youngling able to choose that as against the scholarship of such a man as Sir Robert Peel!

A university, therefore, is a creation with an academical department or college of some ten time-honored, world-selected, highest-possible, never-to be-changed, classical and scientific disciplines. If you wish to know what they are, open the catalogue of almost any so-called "one-horse college." This is a fine advantage just now that a minor college has over its great competitors.

III. Then, what is the university feature?

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(1) It is *not* post-graduate courses. These are but loitering lengths to chill the race of life. They are but congestives of the college. The entrails of the goose, after flattering a boy into loss of such a thing as Greek, flatter a man often into a drowsy year of imagined increase of schooling.

(2) Nor is there the university feature at Oxford or at Yale. There is in part. Yale, where it teaches law, or Harvard, if it teaches medicine, or Princeton, even now partially equipping electricians and civil engineers, ought to have spied long ago the track into a proper university. A university is a clean-cut, solidly-employed academy where boys are advised and insisted on for the very choicest curriculum of study; and then, *with no loss of time*, an immediate wheeling into line for those professional studies that are to end in a youth's practical entrance into his business career.

A convenience to such a university is that it is always, and never, complete. If Princeton should quit throwing its forty-odd professors at the boys, to bury them under the heap of the missiles, and should set its fences back neatly to enclose ten princeliest branches of learning, making ten professors, or twenty professors, or thirty, for the single or double or treble necessity of mechanical division of the class, it would have the first grand necessity of a university, viz., a solid college. Then, each training-school after that would be complete in itself.

There are certain professions followed by the liberally-educated. The list is ever increasing. So must a university increase; though, like a cut worm, each part is vital. Graduates are to get to be farmers or doctors or car-builders. Let there be a school for each profession. Take a man from the commencement stage and prepare him for his business. The forty professors then would not be nearly enough. Let there be a school for every enlightened work. Let each have its staff of teachers and its term of years. A university then would be a great manufacturer of working people,—lawyers, preachers, or professors,—a school of professors for each of the college branches,—a school for Greek professors, for example; a school for metaphysical teachers, by which such a great seat might lay its hand upon the philosophy of the land. Why has not the world had this? A rich quinine-maker might endow a school of manufacturing chemistry, and so the university might grow with every addition of art among men.

Ordinary post-graduateship would be of all things the most undervalued; and every brick in the wall would be looking to that highest culture, the pushing of a man along toward an actual issuance upon the field of his business maintenance by the labor of his life.

JOHN MILLER.

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